

Enemy Number 1-a—*Alexander Werth*

THE *Nation*

February 10, 1951

Arms for Germany?

I. Unrepentant Nationalism

BY BASIL DAVIDSON

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New Land of Cotton

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

✱

MacArthur and Japan

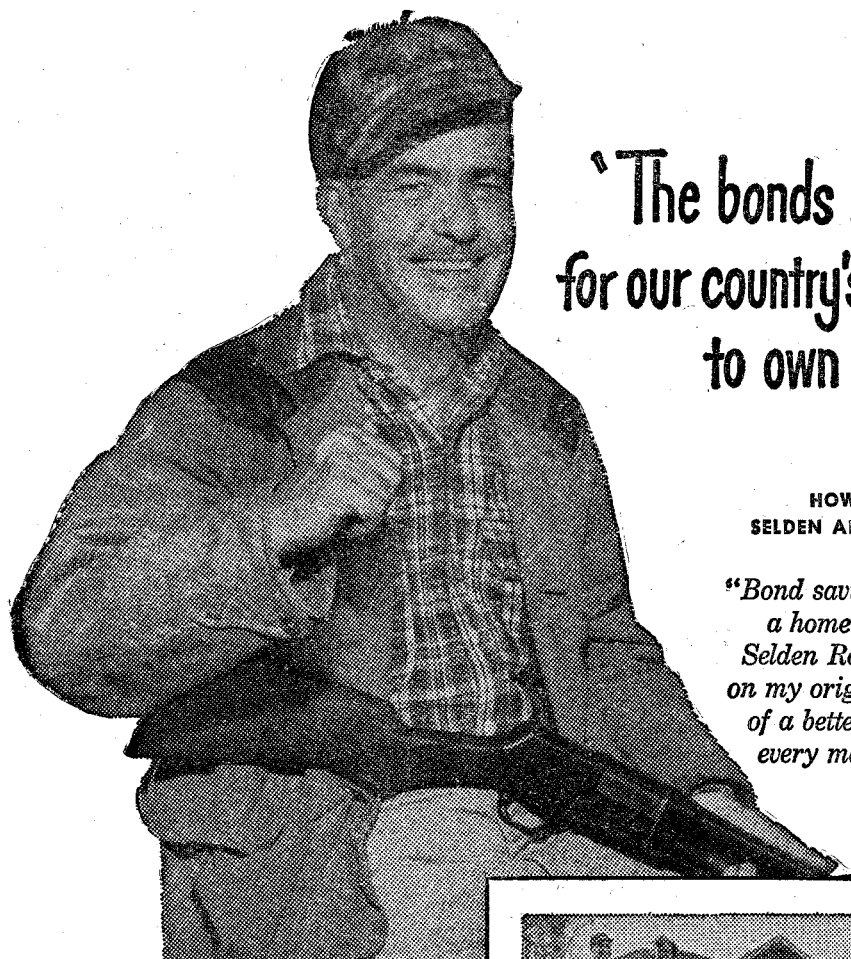
BY HAROLD STRAUSS

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The Man-Power Balance Sheet

BY KEITH HUTCHISON FEB 14 1951

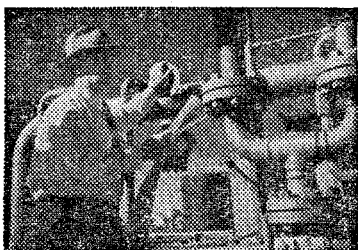
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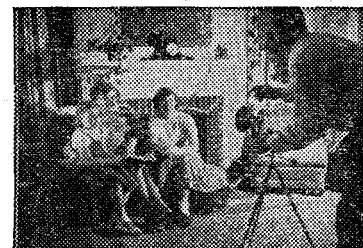
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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • FEBRUARY 10, 1951

NUMBER 6

The Shape of Things

PRESIDENT TRUMAN SPOKE BY THE BOOK when he told Congress in the course of his tax message that we could raise enough new revenue to cover the full cost of the rearmament program without crippling our economy. Certainly, the alternative method of diverting resources from civilian to defense production—inflation—would be far more crippling as well as far more inequitable. That fact is widely recognized but acceptance of the principle of pay-as-we-go does not, unfortunately, insure its translation into a revenue bill. Since taxation is always hard to swallow, Mr. Truman was probably wise in suggesting that Congress take two bites at the \$16½ billion deficit. He wants \$10 billion of additional revenue provided as quickly as possible by increases in personal and corporation income taxes and by "selective" excise levies. Very properly he emphasizes speed for, from the point of view of checking inflation, \$10 billion now may well prove more efficacious than twice that sum next fall. Since actual spending by the government lags behind appropriations, an early increase in revenue would maintain the Treasury on a cash basis and even, perhaps, produce a temporary surplus to serve as a counter-inflationary force. Moreover, if Congress intends to impose either new excises or a general sales tax, it should act with all possible dispatch. For obviously, prolonged discussion of new or increased levies on consumer goods will induce everyone with ready cash to try to build a private stockpile. However, reports from Capitol Hill indicate very little sense of urgency about this or other fiscal problems; which may explain why dispatches from booming Wall Street tell us that stock traders are betting on continued inflation.

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SKEPTICISM ABOUT THE ABILITY OF THE Administration to flatten out the rising price-curve is, in fact, widespread despite the recent general freezing order. That, perhaps, is not surprising but we deplore the tendency in sections of the press to damn the Office of Price Stabilization and the Wage Stabilization Board before they have had a chance to test the effectiveness of their measures. The fact that the general freeze has been broken by sectional thaws is not proof of failure. It was clearly necessary to authorize wage increases already negotiated, like those in the soft- and hard-coal industries,

provided that they conformed to the post-Korea pattern; and some provision must be made for setting maximum allowable increases for workers who have not received any advance in the past six months. Such corrections of inequities should not necessitate price revisions extensive enough to cause serious increases in the cost-of-living index and so give a new twist to the inflationary screw. Much more dangerous is the unfettered action of farm prices which the Defense Production Act placed beyond control so long as they stayed below "parity." But proposals to amend the law in order to close this gaping loophole are assured of strenuous opposition from the farm bloc. Its spokesmen assert that any attempt to control farm prices will cut production heavily and claim that responsibility for increases in food prices really rests on processors and distributors who take every opportunity to increase their profit margins. The truth seems to be that both farmers and food industries are exploiting the situation with each group trying to cover up its own short-comings by reference to the other's misdeeds. If the cost of food is to be kept down, Congress will have to give the O.P.S. authority to control prices at *all* stages.

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IF HIGH COMMISSIONER JOHN J. McCLOY continues to grant wholesale clemency to Nazi war criminals it will not be long before mass murder ranks with overtime parking as a minor misdemeanor. To the already long list of pardons and commutations described in *The Nation* (January 27, 1951, page 69), Commissioner McCloy has now added the names of the men sentenced to death for their participation in the Malmédy massacre, and thus earned the accolade of that great humanitarian Senator Joseph McCarthy. All told, twenty-one prisoners were reprieved from the gallows and will now serve prison terms ranging from nine years to life; only seven facing death possessed records too vile to receive the High Commissioner's benison. In addition, thirty-three prison sentences were reduced last week to the time already served, thirty-five were reduced to a lesser extent, and but five were confirmed in their original lengths. Prominent among those released was Major General Wilhelm Speidel, serving twenty years for "criminal disregard of the civilized rules of warfare in treatment of hostages and civilians"—that is, he ordered thousands of them shot. Fortunately for the General, his brother, Major General Hans Speidel, is now

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The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. *Subscription Prices:* Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

negotiating with the Allies concerning German remilitarization. Another newly freed convict is Alfred Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, head of the munitions cartel that armed Hitler's Wehrmacht. Incidentally, all the jailed industrialists, who, like Krupp, had been found guilty of brutally mistreating slave laborers, received their freedom. To make up for the indignity he had suffered, Herr Krupp had his factories restored to him on the ground that their confiscation was "repugnant to American concepts of justice." The harm that these actions will do to our cause in Europe, and the gain that the Communists will reap thereby, is incalculable.

★

GERMANY IS AGAIN THE MAJOR SUBJECT OF international speculation. Although no official word has yet come from Moscow indicating the Kremlin's reaction to the latest Western notes on the four-power talks, several recent developments justify a moderate, tentative optimism. The most significant signs of a more conciliatory mood in Moscow were the terms for German unity contained in the new offer sent by Otto Grotewohl, the East German Premier, to Chancellor Adenauer at Bonn. The proposals include a clause providing for "free and unfettered" elections throughout Germany as a step toward unity. It will be remembered that this was exactly the expression used in the West German press when the question of all-German elections was previously discussed. Another concession was Herr Grotewohl's offer of joint supervision of the strength, armament, and distribution of police throughout Germany. But the most interesting aspect of this trial balloon launched by the East German regime is the prominence given to it in both *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, and the benevolence with which the Soviet censorship has treated several recent dispatches by foreign correspondents underlining Russia's readiness to make concessions to the West in order to prevent the rearmament of Germany. All this no doubt played its part in the recent conversations between President Truman and Premier Pleven of France, and in General Eisenhower's announcement that he saw no need to hurry with the rearming of Germany. The present need, quite obviously, is to dispel Western fears that American policy is driving toward war without regard for possibilities of agreement.

★

AT HIS LAST MEETING WITH HIS GENERALS Francisco Franco scheduled the beginning of World War III for the middle of this summer. This prediction remains to be proved by events, but we are glad to note that the Generalissimo's other prediction, that General Eisenhower would stop off in Madrid on his return from Portugal, did not materialize. This must have been a blow to the Franco propaganda office, which for days had

been feeding the press with releases about the impending visit. On the other hand, it solved a problem for the generals, who knew only too well that the million soldiers Franco had so generously offered to Washington lacked shoes in which to appear on parade. We have seen a recent picture of Spain's new recruits in the act of taking the oath to the colors. In defiance of all tradition the ceremony took place behind closed doors in the barracks instead of at a public performance. The soldiers appeared wearing espadrilles instead of shoes. This fact is a revealing one, since last year's military budget allocated enormous sums for the re-outfitting of the troops. Obviously that money went the way of other public funds—into graft, the black market, and the pockets of the Franco clique. Nevertheless, Franco remains as arrogant as ever, blandly ignoring advice from Washington that he had better put the country's finances in order if he expects the announced loan to be released. Instead of being removed from his post, Señor Suances, the Minister of Industry whose dismissal had been diplomatically suggested by the Americans, has just delivered one of his typical speeches abounding in self-confident praise for Spain's economy. From the point of view of the hard-pressed American taxpayer it would seem advisable for Congress at least to get the real facts about Spain's financial situation before throwing new millions into Franco's totalitarian hopper.

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THE INTERVENTION OF SECRETARY OF THE Air Thomas K. Finletter into the case of Captain Charles A. Hill, Jr., has brought a happy ending to an act of stupidity of the kind that has made the words "top brass" synonymous with obtuseness, arrogance, and intransigence. Captain Hill, thrice decorated for service as a fighter pilot in World War II, was given his choice by the Continental Air Command of resigning his reserve commission or facing a court martial on charges of "disloyalty." The bill of particulars, which was eloquently rebutted by the young officer, included allegations that he had been seen reading the *Daily Worker*, that he had assisted his father, who as a candidate for the Detroit City Council, had been indorsed by the C. I. O.-P. A. C. and had also been backed by Communists, and that his sister had shown an active interest in Communist principles and policies. Aside from the distortion of the principles of American justice involved in this theory of guilt by relationship, the case, according to the N. A. A. C. P., was "another phase of a concerted effort to discredit Negro servicemen." Secretary Finletter deserves praise for his prompt review of the facts, dismissal of the charges, and expression of regret. But future innocent victims of military myopia and loyalty hysteria should remember that it was Captain Hill's refusal to be cowed that led to the nation-wide publicity and his ultimate exoneration.

February 10, 1951

Britain's Sacrifice

IN HIS address to Congress on February 1, General Eisenhower spoke of the difficulty, indeed the impossibility of making fair comparisons between the defense efforts of different countries in terms either of the size of armed forces or of the proportion of national income devoted to military purposes. A 10 per cent cut in America's standard of living resulting from the transfer of productive facilities from the civilian to the military sector would be unpleasant and would mean little real hardship. But a much lesser cut in, say, Italy's consumption would drive millions below the subsistence level.

This unreality of crude comparison must be kept in mind in assessing Britain's rearmament program, which, in broad outline, was revealed last week by Prime Minister Attlee. Accusations that Britain is "dragging its feet," that it is reluctant to make sacrifices for the common defense, are constantly being made by sections of the American press. Yet the fact is that up to the end of 1950, at least, Britain had a larger proportion of its man-power under arms and was spending a higher percentage of its national income on defense than the United States. In the course of this year, if Congress indorses the military man-power and expenditure goals of the Administration, this position will be reversed. But Britain is also raising its sights, and if one takes into account its inferior resources, its effort will be quite equal to our own.

During the next three years, Mr. Attlee told the House of Commons, the government plans to spend \$13,160,000,000 on defense, or at the rate of 14 per cent of the national income. If this seems modest in relation to the 18 per cent of national income which the United States will devote to similar purposes in 1951-52, let us remember that eleven years of austerity have left little superfluous flesh on the British economy. Greater production will cut so deeply into its capacity to export that its newly restored balance of payments is likely to be upset, and it may find itself unable to finance essential imports.

About half a million British workers are already engaged on defense production, and this number will be doubled when the new program is in full swing. Since Britain has no reserve of unemployed, this labor force will have to be raised by diverting skilled and semi-skilled workers from the metal industries which have lately been responsible for 60 per cent of the nation's exports. Plans are already being made to offset this decline by increasing exports of non-durable consumer goods, but foreign markets for such articles are already limited and may become still more restricted as the United States and other nations face increased defense bills.

Consequently, Britain may very well find its total export earnings falling below last year's record. At the

same time its import bill is likely to grow larger, for the defense program will call for very large amounts of raw materials, at very much enhanced prices, and the government wishes to build emergency stockpiles of strategic commodities, including food. Hence it will be necessary to economize on imports either by tightening direct controls or by measures to reduce domestic buying power.

It is absolutely certain that in order to release production facilities for defense Britain will have to cut its living standard. Mr. Attlee has hinted that the next budget, due in early April, will bring higher taxes, although British taxes are now the highest in the world, and some economies at the expense of the social services also appear inevitable. In addition, it is probable that the high level of domestic investment that has been maintained for the past five years will be lowered. However, large capital programs for the coal, steel, and electric-power industries will have to be continued if defense production is not to be hampered.

It is not surprising to learn that the British people are unhappy about the outlook for their economy, but we have no doubt they will accept the sacrifices in prospect once they are convinced of their necessity. They will agree with General Eisenhower that the United States cannot carry the whole burden of defense and that "we must have cooperation if we are going to work with other nations." But cooperation implies joint decisions as well as joint actions, and the British may complain of our efforts to impose policies of doubtful wisdom on our partners. As long as this remains true, the North Atlantic Pact will lack the cement of confidence, and the sacrifices it demands will be shouldered grudgingly, if at all.

After the U.N. Vote

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

WHEN the returns were in, a mood of pleased satisfaction was manifest in American "ruling circles." After all it *was* aggression, and we had not been afraid to give words their plain meaning, to call things by their right names. Our moral courage had given courage to those who lacked it, as the ample voting margin proved. So said the big press, with a very few discordant exceptions. Even Congress was gratified. Ambassador Austin, widely smiling, shook hands with the representative of Syngman Rhee, the representative of Chiang Kai-shek; why not, since these were our wards, the direct beneficiaries of our victory? There were others, too, with whom he could share his satisfaction: the Philippines and Thailand and Turkey, our little Asian bloc. But most of the others who had voted our way were either relatively disinterested, like the Latin Americans, or profoundly uneasy; the Europeans formed a solid company of skeptics who had voted, as the *Wall Street*

Journal gently put it, "under the lash." These ghosts at the feast went off unsmiling, hoping without hope that the Chinese would discuss terms—although Mao had told the Indians that they would not—with the Good Offices Committee provided for in the resolution and that the Americans would stick to their promise and delay talk about sanctions until, in the words of Sir Gladwyn Jebb, "all possible means of peaceful negotiation had been tested."

To these delegates, as well as to the Asian-Arab group whose resolution proposing talks with the Chinese had been defeated, the American victory was not the victory for plain speech and moral principle it was so generally described as being. Aggression, they knew—and knew the Americans knew—was no longer a simple description of an act. It was a concept around which clustered satellite concepts relating to sanctions and other obligations. In the first place, the Charter had recognized the futility of attempting to pin the label "aggressor" on one of the great powers, since sanctions applied against a great power would inevitably mean war. It was this knowledge that led Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin, as the *New Statesman and Nation* last week recalled, to decide to give the veto power to the permanent members of the Security Council. The absence of the Peking government from the Security Council, and the presence there of the delegate of the Formosa regime, created the situation that made the American resolution possible; it does not make the resolution enforceable without a major war.

But even in cases affecting lesser nations, aggression has not been automatically charged when armies invaded other people's territory. Until Korea the "moral" necessity of such condemnation had never been assumed; on the contrary, surrounding circumstances and probable consequences had controlled such decisions. As Sir Benegal Rau reminded his colleagues, Pakistan had invaded Kashmir, but no finding of aggression was made. As Sir Benegal did not remind his colleagues, five Arab states had invaded Palestine, not only committing an act of aggression but doing so in order to prevent a decision of the United Nations—the partition plan—from being carried into effect. This attempt was crushed, not by a U. N. army as in Korea, but by the forces of the new-born state of Israel. The intervention of the United Nations was limited to cease-fire orders, the arrangement of truces, and efforts at mediation. No Arab state was named an aggressor.

So much for the inexorable "moral" principle involved in the recent struggle at Lake Success.

What justified the action of the Security Council against North Korea last June was, first, the simple, practical fact that if sanctions had not been applied fast, a North Korean victory would have made any measures academic; and, second, the American contention, accepted by the Security Council—Russia being absent—

that the North Korean aggression was either ordered or sanctioned by Moscow and that its success would establish Russian domination over the whole peninsula, directly threatening both the security of Japan and the Western position throughout Asia. It was grand strategy, not morals, that dictated the swift decision of the Council.

By the same token, practical considerations provided the "clear meaning" which the American resolution gave to the word aggression. The United States believed that the revolutionary drive whose dynamo is in Moscow could be checked only if China was labeled an aggressor and dealt with as such. Other considerations, equally practical, led the European and free Asian states to follow counsels of caution—to shrink from using language which plainly implied punitive acts which, in turn, threatened an unlimited war. They were not convinced, either by Mr. Austin's moral fervor or by Mr. Truman's virtual promise not to initiate sanctions without prior agreement, that the American resolution would not set off this train of events. On the day of the vote Walter Sullivan wrote in the *New York Times*: "Some delegates, such as Lester B. Pearson, Canadian Minister for External Affairs, made it plain that they were still unhappy that the United States proposal was being pressed at this time. It was evident that their votes were being cast for the sake of Western unity and in the belief that there was no other course."

Nor were our nominal supporters convinced by the American thesis that no hope remained of a settlement with the Chinese. Sir Gladwyn Jebb asked on January 25, "Are we positive that the Peking government has really said the last word?" insisting that Britain had not lost hope of a negotiated settlement. Three days later Sir Benegal Rau reported that Peking had agreed to negotiate in terms of the Asian-Arab proposal. But the United States stubbornly rejected any further delay or effort to get official verification of the Indian report; and the backbone of Jebb and the other Europeans was not stiff enough to resist our pressure. The *Wall Street Journal*, outstanding dissenter among newspapers, commented after the vote: "None [of the European nations] could afford to alienate the United States in a showdown but few hid their opposition."

Far beneath the surface another anxiety has haunted the thoughts of both Asians and Europeans. Is the United States really anxious to avoid a showdown with China? It has been frank about its desire for sanctions; qualifications and promises on that point were patently agreed to only to ease the fears of those whose votes were needed. Mr. Acheson's belief that a "limited," punitive war might be waged against the Peking regime has had no support in Europe or Asia, where it is assumed the Chinese would counter-attack wherever possible, overrunning British and French possessions and forcing ever stronger and more extended operations.

BUT aside from this danger, which chills the British and French, the question of Formosa has created a special set of fears. From the start friendly countries on the Continent and in Asia were dismayed by Mr. Truman's decision to dispatch the Seventh Fleet to Formosa. No matter how much the Administration might insist that its only desire was to keep the island neutral while the Korean war went on or how energetically it might repudiate General MacArthur's promises to Chiang Kai-shek, the fact remained that an act of intervention, at the very least, had been committed unilaterally and without consultation by the United States. Under the Cairo agreement, never denounced by this country, Formosa was to be returned to China. It *was* returned, and only a year ago the United States explicitly disclaimed any intention to question this action, no matter how the fortunes of civil war might affect the island. But lately, since China's invasion of Korea, Washington has again begun to send military aid to Chiang Kai-shek, and the demand that Chiang's Nationalist troops be used in the Korean fighting grows louder day by day. This is inevitable. Indeed, one must wonder, now that Peking has been declared an aggressor, what logical excuse remains for rejecting Chiang's offered help.

We may assume that Russia's complaint of American aggression against Communist China in Formosa, now before the Political Committee, will be rejected. The Soviet indictment has managed to submerge, in a mass of unprovable and untrue accusations, Peking's justifiable grievance—namely, that Chinese territory has been forcibly taken under American naval control, while Chiang's forces there are being rearmed with American equipment. This is the real, and serious, charge that can be made against the United States. Nor is it offset by the fact that our government voluntarily submitted the Formosa issue to the United Nations for a decision. In the first place, we have no right under our agreements to submit the issue to anybody; it was settled at Cairo, at Potsdam, and, after the war, by our own acknowledgment of China's sovereignty over the island. In the second place, we have already announced that the United States will not accept a decision that collides with its own security interests—a statement indicating a contempt for United Nations authority equaled only by that of the Russians themselves.

Now that Communist China has refused to have anything to do with the Good Offices Committee set up under the United States resolution and both Mr. Pearson and Sir Benegal have declined to serve on it, the hope of negotiations must be regarded as dim. Washington presumably will take the Chinese attitude as a signal for demanding early action on sanctions. This will test even more sharply than the vote on the resolution itself the convictions of those who believe that war with China must be avoided at almost any cost.

Challenge to the Left

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

I WROTE once that nothing in the world would make a French worker fight against the Russians, or anybody else, if he had at his right a German soldier, probably a Nazi, and at his left a Spanish Falangist. Premier René Pleven knows this very well, and the joint communiqué issued in Washington at the end of his conversations with President Truman, which made it appear that all the obstacles to placing Europe on a war footing had been surmounted, was only a repetition of the tactics used in recent days at Lake Success. These tactics consist in voting against one's conscience, in delivering impressive speeches which logically and honestly lead up to a "no" vote and then voting "yes," in risking everything except the displeasure of Washington.

Perhaps a man of M. Pleven's background may disregard a French worker's feelings, though politically this would be most risky, but he can hardly be indifferent to the opinions of people of his own class. And it is precisely in conservative circles that the greatest caution is being advocated toward a policy which might suddenly pitch Europe into war. Powerful figures in business and finance questioned a course which risked much and promised little even in the early stages of the Korean conflict. As soon as war with China became a possibility, the protests of this group, inspired by the instinct of self-preservation, rose to heaven. To invite a general war was called pure madness, especially before the rearming of Europe had even begun.

This opposition from many sources which cannot be called leftist has injected a constructive note into the foreign-policy debate. Here in the United States the position of Walter Lippmann contrasts favorably with that of many writers and commentators who a few years ago considered themselves extremely progressive and looked upon the *Herald Tribune's* brilliant columnist as a reactionary. On the same day that the New York press, including his own newspaper, acclaimed editorially the passage of the American resolution branding Communist China an aggressor, Mr. Lippmann exposed the absurdity of trying to solve an Asian problem without taking into account the views of the leading Asian countries represented on the Political Committee. "The victory," he wrote, "for which Mr. Austin thanked God is a self-inflicted American defeat." Where, outside of this journal and a few others, have spokesmen for the left shown as much penetration and courage as the esteemed Mr. Lippmann, who has never pretended to wear the laurels of radicalism? Another striking example is to be found in the *Wall Street Journal*. Humorists at Lake Success suggest that its intelligent advocacy of a negotiated peace in Korea disproves the Moscow theory that Wall Street is

responsible for Washington's nefarious foreign policy.

The "progressives" in various European governments, rather than cause a ministerial crisis, have resigned themselves to tolerating a course which must end in war, but conservatives have issued repeated warnings to take care before it is too late. In Italy, Defense Minister Pacciardi, who commanded the glorious Garibaldi battalion in Spain—I addressed his troops just before they went into battle against Mussolini's black shirts at Guadalajara—is now reported ready to fight on the side of Franco if fascist Spain is finally included in the Atlantic Pact. On the other hand, a faction in De Gasperi's own party, the party of the Vatican, in opposition to the Prime Minister, is unwilling to entrust Italy's destiny to those who are the real masters in the Atlantic coalition.

In the debate on foreign policy in the Italian Parliament a few weeks ago several independent senators voted with the Communists and the Nenni Socialists against the government. Among them were Orlando, the only surviving member of the Big Four who guided the conference of Versailles, at ninety still astonishingly alert and aggressive; the able and astute Nitti, a former Prime Minister; Bergamini and De la Toretta. Even the president of the Chamber of Deputies, Gronchi, one of the most influential men in the Christian Democratic Party, opposes De Gasperi's foreign policy. In an article that attracted a great deal of attention Gronchi charged the government with supporting a policy of "provocation to war" and opened the columns of his paper, *La Libertà*, to all opponents of communism who wish to protest.

At the celebrated meeting for peace with China in London's Kingsway Hall on January 8, a Conservative M. P., Norman Bower, made a powerful speech against the "absolutely disastrous" policy of the United States in Asia, demanding the admission of Communist China to the United Nations and a general settlement of Asian questions. These are but a few examples of conservatives whose position is a challenge to the left.

As the danger of war increases, however, the left in France and elsewhere is beginning to realign its forces; the action of the General Assembly last Thursday is generally felt to have destroyed the hope of a peaceful settlement of the Chinese question. In France new groupings have come into being—"Independent Socialist Left," "Coordinated Movement for Socialist and Democratic Action"—uniting people like Charles d'Aragon, one of the deputies who left the M. R. P. because of its position on foreign policy; Jean Rous, who was formerly on the executive of the Socialist Party; the Abbé Pierre, another dissident member of the M. R. P. Other militant Socialists, trade-unionists, and men without party ties who were prominent in the Resistance are joining left groups. The trend has only started, but it indicates that the threat of war has at least begun to bring about the consolidation of the independent left.

Acheson Flounders

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, February 2

BECAUSE of the slanders unleashed against the Department of State last year by Senator McCarthy, liberal critics were inclined to keep silent about their own apprehensions, which had a quite different basis. Now the fact must be faced that Secretary Acheson, preoccupied with his defensive battle against McCarthy, is failing to develop the affirmative policy for Asia which events in the United Nations have shown to be desperately needed.

One proof of this lack is found in the hesitant, apologetic way in which the department asked Congress to authorize the shipment of 2,000,000 tons of wheat to famine-threatened India. Knowing that most Congressmen are angry at Prime Minister Nehru, the department seemed to expect, as one spokesman put it, "to have the hide taken off us in little strips" when it belatedly argued that Nehru's political differences with the United States were no excuse for letting India's people starve. The timing of the request may have been unfortunate, but Mr. Acheson has only himself to blame for that. More courage and less self-pity are needed.

More than a year and a half ago India's representatives here informally submitted estimates of future food deficiencies and the probable need for American aid. Senator Humphrey of Minnesota has made a continuous fight to get the department to take the initiative in working out long-range plans for help. He talked to the India experts, to Assistant Secretary McGhee, to Under Secretary Webb, to Secretary Acheson, to President Truman. He sent half a dozen Americans recently returned from India to see the proper department officials. He personally took the head of Protestant missions in India to talk to Webb and Mr. Truman. This week he sponsored a letter to the President, signed by twelve Senators and eight Representatives, urging him to have the State Department start action.

Since Mr. Acheson and his subordinates have waited until the worst possible moment to move, it is quite conceivable that irresponsible Congressmen may make speeches damaging the effect of what should be a warm-hearted expression of American concern for a people suffering misfortune. But the department is to blame for the seven months of futile and tentative negotiations before Madame Pandit, the Indian ambassador, last December 16 formally renewed a request for assistance. It has dragged its feet, thrown cold water on Congressmen trying to help Acheson as well as contribute to a sounder American policy, and been driven to action only by the imminence of crisis.

The department's lack of an affirmative policy is also

evidenced by its appalling delay in working out a long-range Point Four program for improving the productivity, health, and living standards of Asia's newly sovereign peoples. In the more than two years since Mr. Truman proclaimed his "bold new program," the British Commonwealth countries, through the Colombo Plan, have done much more than we to implement the concept.

Members of Congress are far ahead of the State Department policy-makers. A bi-partisan group in the House of Representatives headed by Representatives Javits of New York and Ribicoff of Connecticut has introduced resolutions calling for a new Pacific pact for collective self-defense. Javits and Ribicoff are also urging American participation in an extension of the Colombo Plan. They envision American grants of two-to-four billion dollars to Asian countries over the next six years to increase food production, construct power plants, expand transportation systems, and support public-health and education services. Javits points out that after investment of its entire grant, India would be producing 20 kilowatt hours of electricity per capita as against 2,296 kilowatt hours per capita in the United States.

The State Department's approach is more gingerly. It has accepted an invitation to participate in the discussions of the consultative committee created under the Colombo Plan but only with vast reservations about making any commitments. Yet what the people of Asia need above all is a glimmer of hope—hope that they will be helped to a better way of life. Mr. Acheson understood that a year ago when he outlined his Asian policy in a remarkable speech to the National Press Club, but since then we have had a policy only toward Korea and Formosa, and this is fully supported by none of the major Asian countries.

Time is running out, and if we can't get an Asian policy under Acheson, we should get it under someone else.

EISENHOWER began a full week when he flew down from West Point on January 31 to report to practically everyone who had either direct or representative concern with the defense of America through the defense of Europe—the President, the Cabinet, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, an informal joint session of Congress, the Foreign Affairs and Armed Services committees of the House and Senate, and finally the nation itself. Ike was kept out of Washington while Premier Plevin was here so that he would not compete with Plevin for news coverage; when the French Premier left, both President Truman and Secretary Acheson canceled their own scheduled press conferences in order not to lessen the impact of the General's performance.

It was an extraordinary thing to see Eisenhower before Congress yesterday. The session was "informal"

In the sense that members met in the Library of Congress rather than in the chamber of the House of Representatives; the General spoke extemporaneously, from notes. As a result he made some blunders. The British noticed he omitted their country in reporting the improvement in morale and rearmament in West European nations. There was some confusion about whether he meant to recommend that the number of American divisions in Europe be limited to a fixed ratio to the divisions created by the other North Atlantic nations. In his speech he seemed to suggest this idea, which would play into the hands of Taft and Wherry; a formal statement issued after his secret session with the Senate committees indicated that he opposed such a limitation.

Eisenhower made it clear to Congress that he considered his function to be merely to file a report on what he had learned in Europe, not to urge policy on the elected representatives of the people. But his speech was actually part of the great debate on foreign affairs and will strengthen the groups which believe, with Truman and Acheson, that the United States must take the lead in creating an Atlantic community able to defend Western Europe from conquest by Russia. In uniform and wearing the five stars of his rank, flanked by other generals as well as the Republican and Democratic leaders of both houses, Ike became the first professional military man in our history to be projected into a political debate of such significance.

The Man-Power Balance Sheet

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

In the end everything we do is related to man-power. It is the universal strategic material for which no synthetic exists.—*Fortune*, January, 1943.

THAT statement is just as true today as it was eight years ago, when the growth of the great armies we were raising to fight the Axis powers was pacing the expansion of war production. And now that once more we are planning to stretch our economic capacity to its limits, we again face the problem of enlarging our labor force and utilizing it as efficiently as possible. At the moment, perhaps, attention is concentrated on other bottlenecks—shortages of some basic raw materials, the prospect of inadequate power supplies. These are bottlenecks that can be broken: new sources of materials can be opened up or substitutes developed; we can in time build new power stations. But the performance of such tasks calls for man-power, and because our man-power resources, while large, are necessarily limited they finally determine the extent of our productive effort.

In World War II the United States raised its armed forces from about 300,000 to over 12,000,000, manned vast new war industries which poured out an immense quantity of material, and still found enough labor to keep civilian consumers supplied with all essentials and even a good many luxuries. It was an amazing achievement, but even so few will claim that we succeeded in using our labor force with maximum efficiency. One reason, perhaps, was that we never managed to concentrate the organization of man-power in the hands of one authority, as the British did in 1940 when they set up the Minister of Labor and National

Service to supervise recruitment for both the services and industry. Here responsibility remained divided—the defense departments, Selective Service, the War Man Power Commission, and the Department of Labor and Agriculture all having fingers in the pie. Little effort was made, particularly in the early days when the pattern of defense industry was determined, to bring the jobs to the workers. The consequence was an immense churning up of the labor force, with millions of people migrating through the length and breadth of the country, and a tremendous amount of wasted motion. Labor turnover in many war factories was huge, partly because the plants mushroomed in communities which could not handle the crowds of workers they attracted. Personnel managers were driven frantic when they found that countless new employees who were just beginning to learn their jobs resigned because they could find nowhere to live.

The problems of mobilizing man-power in a democracy that eschews direct controls over labor are of course immensely complicated, and their solution calls for intricate economic calculus. If, for instance, 100 mechanical cotton-pickers will do the work of 3,000 laborers who might be induced to move from the California cotton fields to the shipyards, is it wise to use 100 skilled workers to make the cotton-pickers rather than divert them to the building of tanks? Or, what net saving in man-hours can be achieved if the employment of x workers to build houses near an aircraft plant reduces labor turnover in that plant by y per cent? In a free-enterprise system such conundrums, involving alternative uses of scarce means, are solved, in theory

at least, by means of the mathematics of profit and loss. But we cannot depend on that method to give us the right answers in terms of national security.

WE NEED, therefore, to plan, to budget our man-power; but before that can be done we must estimate our requirements and our means of meeting them. The Defense Department, we know, aims at reaching a total strength for the armed forces of 3,500,000 by the end of this year. As yet there is no similar man-power target for armaments manufacture and the innumerable industries and services that support it. The Budget for 1951-52 provides nearly \$50 billion for defense, including aid to allies, and a total outlay for these purposes of some \$140 billion during the next twenty-four to thirty months has been forecast by the President. But the Defense Department has still to draw up a detailed production program, and until it does so the calculation of demand schedules for man-power will remain pretty much a matter of guesswork. However, Maurice J. Tobin, Secretary of Labor, in a statement before the Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee on January 16, ventured the opinion that some four million additional workers will be required for the production of munitions and other supplies for the armed forces and for related activities.

Accepting this figure tentatively, let us consider our total man-power resources. By comparison with 1940 we are launching our defense program with a "tight" labor market. Then we had a reserve of some 8,000,000 unemployed, while today only 2,200,000 are seeking jobs. Again, although total population has grown by nearly 20,000,000 in the past decade, its composition has changed considerably, and the proportion of people of working age is smaller. During the depression years there was a sharp fall in the birth rate, which from 1933 to 1940 inclusive averaged 17.16 per thousand of population compared with 21.5 from 1921 to 1930. As a result, the ten-to-nineteen age group at present numbers about 2,000,000 less than in 1940, and for most of the next decade fewer men and women will reach the age of nineteen than reached this age between 1940 and 1945. Only in 1958, when the World War II baby crop begins to come of age, will there be a sizable increase in the annual supply of men for the labor market and the draft.

Compared with 1940, the twenty-to-fifty-four age group, from which the main body of the labor force must be drawn, has increased by 6,300,000 (as of July 1, 1949) but forms only 48.5 per cent of the whole population instead of 50.7 per cent. On the other hand, thanks to greater longevity, we have today 5.1 per cent more people of fifty-five and over, which brings this age group up to 16.6 per cent of the population, against 15 per cent in 1940. At the lower end of the age scale,

the fecund forties have produced a still greater increase. Children under ten are about 40 per cent more numerous than in 1940 and now form 19.6 per cent of the whole population, compared to 16 per cent.

These shifts in the make-up of the population, and particularly the enormous increase in the number of children, have an important bearing on man-power problems. All members of the youngest age group and many of the oldest must be "carried" by the working population, which means that a larger proportion of the labor force is required to provide for basic civilian needs than was the case when we were fighting the Axis. We need more workers than we did then to make baby carriages, diapers, children's clothes, and a host of other things, and also many more teachers. And we cannot expect to attract into industry as many women under thirty-five as we did in World War II, for a much higher proportion of this group are now mothers of young children.

WHAT is the present size of our labor force—the aggregate of persons at work, plus members of the armed forces and those seeking work—and what are the prospects of enlarging it so that we can fulfil the defense program without cutting too severely into living standards? In the statement already mentioned Mr. Tobin said that in December, 1950, the labor force totaled 64,700,000, of which 2,200,000 were in the armed services and 2,200,000 unemployed: the comparable figure in June, 1940, was 57,000,000. The increase is only in part due to the increase in population; it reflects also the fact that the proportion both of women and of elderly persons who work is greater than it was ten years ago. That means that the potentiality of these two groups as labor-force reserves has diminished.

Reduced elasticity in quantity may, however, be offset by greater elasticity in quality. The reserve of unemployed in 1940 included young men who had never worked steadily and many older men who had become what Mr. Tobin calls "job-rusty." Today a much larger proportion of the whole labor force is skilled or semi-skilled and accustomed to factory techniques. That fact, together with the very heavy investment in machinery and plant that has been made in the past ten years, has brought about a notable improvement in productivity.

Although expansion of the employed labor force will not prove as easy as in World War II, the Office of Defense Man-Power of the Department of Labor believes that the total can be raised by several million. Reduction of unemployment to the minimum "frictional" level, where it is mainly due to movement between jobs, would bring in from 1,250,000 to 1,500,000 more workers. In addition, there are about 500,000 veterans completing their education who presumably will enter the labor market within the next three years. At the war-time peak 37.3 per cent of all women over sixteen

were in the labor force, and a return to the same ratio would give us another 2,500,000 workers. However, as we have already noted, so many of the younger women are fully occupied with motherhood that we cannot look for a gain of this size even if extensive day-nursery programs are undertaken.

On the other hand, we should be able to count on the services of an increased number of older workers in spite of the growth of public and private pension systems. Surveys by the Social Security Administration and the Railroad Retirement Board indicate that a great many people wish to continue in employment after reaching pensionable age, and more could be recruited if employers relaxed their hiring standards. We have also an important potential reserve in the ranks of the disabled and handicapped, many of whom can with proper training become fully productive members of society. The program of the recently reorganized Office of Vocational Rehabilitation in the Federal Security Agency should, given cooperation by employers, make a significant contribution to the solution of man-power problems.

In addition to increasing the size of our labor force we have available various means of stretching its output. For instance, the average work week in manufacturing industries in December, 1950, was forty-one and one-half hours, more than an hour higher than six months earlier but four less than at the peak of the World War

II effort. A return of an average of forty-five and one-half hours—probably anything much beyond this would yield diminishing returns—would be the equivalent of an addition of 1,500,000 trained workers to the labor force.

But the lengthening of the work week is by no means the only way of making the best of our man-power supply. It is much more important to adopt measures which will insure that every worker is employed at his maximum capacity. Improved personnel methods, including wide use of aptitude tests, on-the-job training, and upgrading, can do much to prevent the placing of square pegs in round holes and the waste of potential skills. Above all, every effort must be made to insure that members of minority groups are not thwarted in making their fullest possible contribution by prejudice on the part of management or their fellow-workers. By maintaining discriminatory practices this country imposes on itself not only a moral but a physical handicap; so that the President's demand for reinstitution of the Fair Employment Practices Committee makes economic as well as democratic sense. Engaged as we are in a struggle in which production is our most potent weapon, we must use our precious man-power as productively as we possibly can.

[In a second article, to appear next week, Keith Hutchison will consider some other man-power problems, including that of labor mobility.]

Arms for Germany?

BY BASIL DAVIDSON

I. Unrepentant Nationalism

Bonn, January 26

MR. McCLOY said recently that the Atlantic coalition would push ahead with German rearmament "without any regard to a four-power conference between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union." On paper, at least, the preparations are well advanced. The outlines of the master-plan are already coming clear.

Early in December the High Commissioner and his advisers explained to Chancellor Adenauer and the West German government that their failure to "make a Ger-

man contribution to Western defense" could only convince the American taxpayer that West Germany was scarcely worth another dollar. The pressure was only tactically necessary, for Adenauer, whose whole thought is colored by the traditions of conservative nationalism, has always believed in the "common front against the East." But Adenauer knows Germany well enough to realize that remilitarization will meet unprecedented difficulties. It cannot be accomplished quickly. German opinion, for one reason or another, is largely opposed to rearming. Adenauer also knows that his standing with the people depends upon his making a show of independence. He has therefore allowed his own conditions for rearmament to become known. In laying down these conditions he is supported in principle by the leaders of the Social Democratic Party, by "non-Nazi" generals like von Heusinger and Speidel—his present military advisers—and by most politically conscious conservatives in the country.

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Adenauer's conditions, essentially, are two. The first is that rearmament shall be preceded by the grant of a large measure of sovereignty to the West German state—not by means of a separate peace treaty but by a "contractual arrangement," which will amount, however, to much the same thing. The second is that rearmament shall be accompanied by the dispatch of strong American and British reinforcements to West Germany.

THE Western powers have accepted both these conditions, although they have not committed themselves to the second with any exactness. Negotiations for the "contractual arrangement"—in effect, a separate peace treaty with West Germany—may be expected to begin in the near future and to be concluded at least by the autumn. While these negotiations are in progress, the West German government will undertake, using every available agency of press and propaganda, a campaign of "psychological preparation" designed to undermine the almost universal apathy and pacifism. Simultaneously with this "spiritual remilitarization" a new kind of *Truppenamt*—apparently to be much like General von Seeckt's army bureau in the twenties, but initially without intelligence or operations staffs—will undertake the selection and enrolment, housing, training, and military equipment of the cadres for a new army. These cadres will fall numerically within the limits of the "twenty-two boosted brigades" which the Western powers decided upon at Brussels. The greater part of this new "100,000-man army" will consist of officers and non-commissioned officers.

Sometime later, almost certainly not before the beginning of 1952, the now "sovereign" Federal Republic will promulgate a conscription law and will begin putting flesh on this skeleton army. By the end of 1952, other things being equal, the Federal Republic may expect to have acquired the means of maintaining, training, and equipping two complete classes. The army, by 1953, could number at least half a million young men with one year's full training; in any case a majority of its officers and N. C. O.'s will be men who have seen active service. The new *Truppenamt*, or whatever it may be called, will expect by then to have developed an effective intelligence and operational command, although steps will probably be taken to conceal these from the public eye.

Current notions about supply are somewhat fluid. It is taken for granted that in the beginning the weapons, transport, and wireless equipment needed to train the cadres of a modern army will come from the United States. The Ruhr is now producing steel at the rate of 12,000,000 tons a year; if the French could be induced to forgo some of their German coal supplies and if new steel-milling equipment were installed at one or two key points, annual output could be fairly rapidly advanced

to 14,000,000 or 15,000,000 tons. Knowing this, the German rearmament advocates are suggesting that the Ruhr should, at least initially, furnish armor plating, transport, and parts of weapons for assembly elsewhere. But the Ruhr industrialists, it seems, have the not unintelligent idea that they should continue to make the machine tools while some of the Western countries—notably their competitor, Great Britain—should make the arms. The British do not favor this division of labor, having a careful eye to the foreign markets they have seized from the Germans since the war. So with one thing and another, it seems likely that the Ruhr will be allowed to produce finished weapons in the not distant future. In the end, of course, the West German conservatives and nationalists will demand the right to make their own arms.



BRANDER
Chancellor Adenauer

In promoting rearmament on this scale the nationalists, who now dominate the administration of West Germany, are quite certain about the use to which a new German army is to be put. They are convinced that the Americans and the British do not believe that a peaceful settlement with Russia is possible or desirable; they themselves, determined to win back the "lands beyond the Oder-Neisse"—now part of Poland—and deeply impregnated with an anti-communism which includes opposition to all progressive social change are quite unable to conceive of any peaceful settlement. If the West wished to reunite Germany peacefully, they argue, it would attempt to do so now; to attempt reunification after rearmament—and West German rearmament will presumably carry with it East German, not to speak of redoubled Polish and Czech, rearmament—would entail the use of force or the threat of force.

The pro-militarization Germans can only conclude, therefore, that the role of the new West German army will be to strike eastward across the Elbe and, if possible, the Vistula, in the company of the large American and British armies which they are determined to get into Germany. It is to this strike eastward that such oddly assorted people as the Social Democratic Schumacher and the ex-general of tanks Heinz Guderian refer when they talk about the "offensive-defensive" strategy required to "defend" Western Germany. That West German rearmament will be taken by the Russians as a most dangerous provocation is accepted by its proponents.

They argue, however, that "there is still time" to embark upon this provocation without leading the Russians to take decisive counter-measures. This argument is founded on the belief that the Russians will not initiate a war in Germany.

Conscious of American and British approval—and very warm approval too—for plans of this nature, the West German nationalists already begin to speak a new language of authority and confidence. Only seven months have passed since I was in Bonn before, but the change of atmosphere is noticeable. It is perhaps best illustrated by the tremendous orchestration of support for those who are demanding that the lives of the S. S. murderers now locked up in Landsberg jail be spared. These "red jackets" as they are called—the condemned men wear such articles of clothing—were sentenced for killing American prisoners near Malmédy. The reason why they have stayed alive is that American justice magnanimously gave them the same right of appeal as American citizens enjoy. Accordingly, month by month since their conviction, the German lawyers have discovered new "evidence" upon which to base repeated appeals for clemency

or retrial, or simply for outright reversal of the sentences. From time to time the American authorities have agreed to reduce the list of the condemned. [On January 13 the death sentences of all those involved in the Malmédy massacre were commuted to life imprisonment.] The net effect of this generous procedure has been to promote the belief in Germany that the whole trial was a case of utterly unjustified American vengeance, if not outright brutality, and to devalue still further, if that is possible, the processes of Allied justice in Germany. Most German newspapers nowadays print the word *Kriegsverbrecher*—war criminal—in italics, or use it in a derisive sense.

Little by little, and quite noticeably now, the official tone of West Germany is becoming frankly and outrageously that of unrepentant nationalism. Ex-Nazis are found everywhere in places of influence—in the administration, in the press, in the law courts, in the schools and universities, and in Parliament. The Allied demand for rearmament strengthens the unrepentant nationalists, which is a development not displeasing to the Western powers, for only among nationalists and ex-Nazis can they find partners for a third world war.



MAO POKER-FACE

London Daily Herald

New Land of Cotton

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles

ON OCTOBER 4, 1950, Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan announced that marketing quotas and acreage allotments for the 1951 cotton crop would be removed, and it now seems likely that as a further incentive for increased production a support price of 100 per cent of parity will be established. Yet a year ago Mr. Brannan felt compelled to order a 20 per cent cutback in production. What is responsible for this drastic change in the outlook for cotton?

For one thing, the 1950 crop was the smallest in years—only about 9,869,000 bales, 38 per cent less than the 1949 crop of 16,128,000 bales. The failure to achieve the goal of 11,733,750 bales, which Mr. Brannan had set for 1950, was due largely to heavy rains and the boll weevil in the Mississippi Delta—closely related hazards—and to severe drought in western Texas. Another factor was the refusal of many Southern cotton growers to plant as much as they were allowed to. They accepted their allotments based on "prior histories," for future use with no intention of using them in 1950. About 18 per cent of the allotted acreage was not planted.

The primary cause of the cotton boom, however, is the war in Korea. The demand for cotton cloth and for the cotton linters and cotton pulp used in the manufacture of explosives increased sharply last June and again when the President announced that we intended to form an army of 3,000,000. An army of this size will alone create a demand for 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 bales. At the same time the export demand was lively throughout the year, in part owing to the stimulation of European cotton manufacture through Marshall Plan funds but more particularly owing to heavy mid-summer exports to Japan. The removal of limitations on the production of cotton mills in Japan and on the installation of new equipment promptly stepped up Japanese importation of California cotton.

Secretary Brannan's lifting of all quota restrictions on the 1951 crop is certain to accelerate the shift in cotton production from the South to the West. Southern producers who have profited from the change to diversified farming and livestock production will be extremely cautious about plunging into the great 1951 cotton gamble, especially since they know how severely handicapped

they are in competition with the irrigated West. On the other hand, Western growers, particularly those in California, will seize the opportunity to built up inflated "acreage histories" as a protection against future production limitations. "Now is the time," one of these growers said recently, "to get yourself a cotton history." Cotton acreage in California may well jump from 650,000 to 1,000,000 acres this year.

The disintegration of the South's cotton economy will merely be speeded up. Not only is the yield per acre of irrigated fields almost double that of non-irrigated, but the quality of Western cotton is steadily improving, while that of Southern cotton is declining. Last year, to the amazement of the trade, California cotton brought premium prices over similar grades of Mississippi Delta cotton at mills in the heart of the Deep South's cotton belt. Even Atlantic seaboard mills, traditionally partial to the South's unirrigated upland cotton, bought California cotton for their fine-quality goods. Now as many as thirty of these mills have announced that they intend to use it in the future. Mills in Japan, Great Britain, Germany, and Italy are using California cotton for their best materials.

Fortunes will be made in cotton in California in 1951, but the long-range consequences will be harmful. Lands converted from cotton to first plantings of alfalfa on the assumption that the 1949 cutback of 20 per cent would be retained are already being reconverted to cotton. Curtailment of grain production and encroachment on permanent pasturage will cause higher feed costs, which will be reflected in higher prices for meat and dairy products. Dairy herds may be reduced in size. The sheep industry will suffer. Anticipating an increase in alfalfa, sheep growers brought 50,000 lambs into the San Joaquin Valley last year in an effort to raise California to second place again among the sheep-producing states. The cotton craze may block these plans. The most serious consequence of the 1951 runaway production of cotton, however, will be the demands on a limited water supply and the certain soil erosion.

Increased cotton acreage in California will mean the diversion of more nitrogen to fertilizer and of other chemicals to insecticides, the use of more freight cars for cotton shipments, an increased demand for ginning, handling, and warehouse facilities and for supplies of bagging and ties. Moreover, before long California will undoubtedly have an important cotton-textile industry; a large cotton mill is already scheduled for construction in Contra Costa County. There is a big local market for

CAREY McWILLIAMS, author of the recently published *"Witch Hunt: The Revival of Heresy,"* has also written a number of books on the agricultural and labor problems of the West. He is a staff contributor.

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textiles on the West Coast and a larger market in the Pacific. Each of these developments will build up vested interests in California's cotton production. At the same time, the state's windfall of seven new Congressmen next year will make it more difficult for the South to manipulate cotton quotas to its advantage.

California production is based on the most highly developed technology to be found anywhere that cotton is grown. The use of a standard seed throughout the state is merely one illustration. This year important experimental work is being done with "coated" seed—that is, seed coated with material containing fertilizer and hormones as well as rodent and insect repellents. A new "di-nitro" spray stops the germination of weed seeds for about four weeks, with little bad effect, apparently, on the cotton plant. The number of mechanical cotton-pickers has increased from 965 in 1949 to 1,435 this

year, and the entire California crop will probably be mechanized in from three to five years. Recent studies indicate that the use of mechanical pickers saves from \$13.50 to \$22 a bale.

Few developments in American agriculture in the last fifty years compare in importance with the shift in cotton-growing from the South to the West. "De land ob cotton" is now California, but Ol' Massa doesn't sit on the veranda sipping a mint julep. Ol' Massa in these parts is a precision farmer and agricultural or farm-commodity politician, a plunger, a soil-robber, and, above all, a smart operator. He combines a Western toughness and taste for gambling with a remarkable willingness to experiment with technological innovation, and he finds, in California, the funds for huge capital investments. His energies and his discoveries are shaking the South's cotton empire to its foundations.

Enemy Number 1-a

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, January 22

THE latest discovery made by the French government is that if communism is Enemy Number 1, neutralism is Enemy Number 1-a—in other words, a sort of sub-communism, an accomplice of the agents of Moscow.

The Taft speech, it seems, coming just as General Eisenhower arrived in Paris, threw the French government into something like a panic. What, no American troops for France? No more prodding of Western Europe to pull up its socks? America's frontier on the Channel? Where in heaven's name, it was asked, had the Americans got the idea that France was not keen on the Atlantic Pact? Of course there were the Communists, but what United States Senator would listen to them? No, there was something more insidious—there were the French "neutralists," who ever since the Atlantic Pact was signed had been beefing and belly-aching and raising a thousand doubts in the minds of the Americans about whether France was worthy of all the generous military aid Mr. Truman was willing to send.

Who are the neutralists? In the National Assembly there are 180 Communists and near-Communists; but there is no Neutralist Party. This makes it all the worse. For "neutralism" is a state of mind, and its spokesmen are skeptics of various nuances, ranging from Claude Bourdet of *L'Observateur* and the late Emmanuel

Mounier of *Esprit* to Hubert Beuve-Méry himself, editor of the only French paper of real international standing, *Le Monde*. The neutralists claim to express the most widespread and deep-seated feelings of the French people, but in fact anyone who is not quite conformist in France today can be conveniently classed as a neutralist—especially if the Communist label won't stick.

Neutralists of all brands are severe critics of the Atlantic Pact. Beuve-Méry is doubtful of its military value and sure that it is provocative. Bourdet went so far as to welcome the "European" part of Taft's speech. By all means let France, he said in effect, look after its own security. By not having an Atlantic army here, it will not provoke Russia. If the Russians, nevertheless, invade France, the French people will have the best possible psychological basis for offering unanimous opposition by means of a nation-wide *maquis* organized in advance.

Maybe this is "unrealistic." Nobody in the Assembly expressed such ideas. Some four hundred deputies—practically all except the Communists—voted for the rearmament program "in order to give America confidence in France" and encourage it to send more arms and money. But the mental reservations with which many of them voted may be easily guessed. Even the *bien pensant* François Mauriac wrote in *Figaro* that he hoped that the utmost effort would be made to come to an agreement with the Russians, much as he loathed them. This is not quite the line of the State Department.

And then M. Moch thought he would contribute to the discussion. He went to the lunch of the Anglo-

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American Press Association and read a speech that had been prepared in advance. It was a most illuminating performance. France was not neutralist, he insisted; if there were neutralists, they were traitors—yes, *traitors!*—no better than the Communists. France believed in collective security, France believed in Eisenhower, “the liberator of Europe”; and he, Jules Moch, a French Socialist, “had given body and soul to the task of reconstituting a mighty French army.” This army, together with its allies—Germany was not mentioned—would “compel aggression to retreat.” He believed in the future because (1) although a notable fraction of the French working class voted Communist, the orders of the party were no longer carried out; (2) people were reading the Communist press and attending party meetings much less than before; (3) the government was being very tough with the Communists (cheers from most of the audience) and throwing them out of responsible jobs.

Finally, there was France, which had always been capable of the most wonderful *élans* and *redressements*. Recall, Moch exclaimed, the Convention, which introduced the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the metric system (*sic*) and built up revolutionary armies that were the terror of all the crowned tyrants of the day! Think of the Paris Commune! (“What was that he said?” one bewildered young American beside me whispered.) Or the great Popular Front movement, Moch went on, and the Resistance! (“Popular Front, Resistance—didn’t the Reds have something to do with that?” said my young American friend, more puzzled than ever.) Afterward there were questions. “I can’t say anything,” Moch replied to one, “except that our talks with General Eisenhower were most satisfactory.” “Military service—yes. Much bigger effort made by France than by Britain. No exemptions here at all.” The Americans could put that in their pipes and smoke it, and the British, too.

From a far corner a lady’s voice piped: “M. Moch, are there any Communists in the French army?” “Of course, of course,” said Moch, “in a conscript army we are bound to have *some* Communists, but no one, no one, above the rank of lieutenant colonel. Three Communist lieutenant colonels for the whole French army, I assure you. I haven’t fired them yet, but three isn’t very many, is it? And they’re being carefully watched.” Another



Premier Pleven

female voice then asked, “What proportion of the French population adopted the Communist attitude to Eisenhower’s visit?” “I’m a mathematician,” Moch declared, “and I can tell you exactly: less, much less, than the circulation of the entire Communist press—and that’s small, very small.”

Everybody was most impressed and reassured.

Paris, February 1

IS THE Pleven government trying to become, in the eyes of Washington, the Good Boy of Europe? Much has been made in the pro-government press of the profound Anglo-American differences on China, and in some quarters there is a scarcely concealed desire that France should “cash in,” and become America’s “Ally No. 1.” It is no secret that M. Chauvel, the French delegate at the U. N., was in favor of supporting America’s condemnation of China to the hilt; in advocating this policy, he said it would be “a useful gesture of France’s independence in relation to Britain.”

Before M. Pleven left for Washington, France was given the kind of “advance publicity” that should please large sections of American opinion. A typical manifestation of this was the official drive against the neutralists. Then came the order from the Ministry of the Interior that the head offices of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Women’s Federation, and the Democratic Youth Federation—all branded “Cominform agencies”—should be closed, even though the first-named had been given “consultative status” (Category A) by the U. N. Finally, there was the repression of the Communist demonstration against Eisenhower. All the non-Communist papers announced the demonstration had been a fiasco and had come to an “early ignominious end.” In reality, the whole neighborhood of the Etoile was black with thousands of police armed to the teeth, and the Communists who got anywhere near where Eisenhower was staying were chased into police cars and, more often than not, beaten up. Over 3,000 arrests were made. What may have given Eisenhower a little food for thought was the fact that *nobody except the police* tried to beat up the Communists for carrying “No Wehrmacht!” banners.

Not that this solves the problem of Germany. While in Germany, Eisenhower had made it pretty clear that the “Pleven plan” with its “European army” was, as far as he was concerned, down the drain. “Perfect equality” for Germany has been consistently opposed by the French, and the Communists’ “No Wehrmacht!” is exactly what both M. Pleven and M. Schuman have said over and over again. Will the French government now accept the American view on Germany in return for “substantial aid” for Indo-China? This aid would presumably only take the form of heavy war equipment. Or are the 30,000 Chinese Nationalist soldiers still interned

at Haiphong to be used against Vietnam? As a precedent, nothing would please General MacArthur better. The French government is doubtless aware of the dangers of such a step, but what pressures will Washington exercise? Indo-China cannot be "reconquered" with less than half a million troops, and France is badly handicapped in Europe by having to keep ten of its best divisions in the Far East. Has Indo-China, it is asked, now become part of Washington's "world strategy"?

The gulf between the pro-government press and public sentiment is rapidly widening here, and the fear that America is already on the war path is far greater than

the fear that Russia may spontaneously invade Western Europe. Anxiety is increased by a rapid rise in the price of a large range of commodities, and the lack of any sign that price controls will be imposed, still less that wages will be raised. The recent Mendès-France prophecies of "economic disequilibrium" are already coming true, and M. Petsche, the Minister of Finance, is said to be in a very gloomy mood. Apart from the gravity of the economic situation, he is reported to have been sharply criticized by Mr. Harriman, and to have become *persona non grata* with Washington for being "too independent."

Pressures and Pictures: II

BY GILBERT SELDES

IN EVERY protest against the pressure groups which are trying to ban "The Miracle" from public showing, the right to persuade was accepted as fundamental, the right to prevent was challenged. A group of distinguished Protestants, laymen and clergy, wired the New York Board of Regents: "The Roman Catholic church has every right to forbid any film . . . to its own communicants. It has no legal or moral right to attempt to force its views on [the] state as a whole." The argument was, in a sense, anticipated by Cardinal Spellman, who primarily called on Catholics to boycott the picture and protest its showing, but added: "Moreover, if the present law is so weak and inadequate to cope with this desperate situation, then all right-thinking citizens should unite to change and strengthen the federal and state statutes so as to make it impossible for anyone to profit financially by blasphemy, immorality, and sacrilege."

The "desperate situation" is the showing to non-Catholics of a picture Catholics are instructed not to see. To put the question broadly, what is any group to do if picketing and protest fail to remove from public attention anything offensive to its moral sense? The traditional American answer is that they should do nothing, either out of love for the principle of freedom or out of self-interest, because they cannot expect freedom unless they are willing to grant it. We have to face the fact that this attitude is now purely historical; everyone knows it, and no one—outside of a few scattered liberals—holds to it. And no other formula has been found. As an adherent of the American Civil Liberties Union, as a citizen, and as an individual, I feel that even to consider a substitute

formula is an admission of defeat; we have been fighting rearguard actions in defense of freedom and of the fundamental law of the country that gives us freedom, but at least we have been fighting, and we are lost if we compromise.

As a political unit I know the reality: I know large, powerful organized groups are demanding changes in the law in order to limit freedom of expression and, as in the case of "The Miracle," to make pressure on public bodies more effective. We are confronted with two separate, even contradictory efforts; one can be called McCarthy-McCarranism—the effort to destroy active minorities by depriving them of liberty and livelihood unless they conform to loosely defined majority opinion; the other is the effort of organized minorities to impose their will on that same majority, which is, in theory, their enemy. The reason their mutual hostility has not been discovered is that, at the moment, both are wearing the colors of anti-liberalism. The protection of law-respecting minorities was a prime concern of Jeffersonian democrats, who are now aware of the unsuspected danger: that given sufficient organization, minorities can paralyze the general will of the people.

This is the atmosphere in which attacks on the motion picture have been going on in the past few years. The movies are an excellent test case and illustration of the general principle because, with all their concentration on a vast minority audience, they remain the one great popular art which people pay to see and about which, consequently, they would protest if their feelings were sufficiently outraged. Movies are, moreover, observed by a number of intelligent groups—reviewers, educators, parents—who would complain of any abuse of taste even if the more general public did not. Except for objections to certain films that treated the Negro decently, about

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which I am not at all sure, I know of no genuinely public outcry. I have seen pictures so debased in concept, so degrading to the dignity of man, that they should have been picketed on the ground that they were unfair to the human intelligence, but I have seen none, even in the old pre-"code" days, that was an offense to public morality, in the accepted sense. Since the code went into operation, virtually all pictures are estranged from the actual morals of the people, and when they came to grips with reality, particularly if they touch on any manifestation of sex, they are cruelly immoral, because they are false and their falsity cannot be penetrated by the people who see them.

The Legion of Decency has, in spite of its overriding influence with the Johnston office, denounced in whole or in part many pictures passed under the Production Code. Foreign pictures have to be made without knowing in advance whether they will receive the seal of the Johnston office, and, as in the case of "The Bicycle Thief," a picture which the industry's own academy honors can be financially ruined because the seal is withheld. This is concealed pressure; in the case of "The Miracle" the pressure is in the open.

Those who think the pressure is excessive must try to separate the religious from the social elements in the problem. Disregarding the suggestion that a movie about a woman described as an idiot might, by some wild exercise of prejudice, be called "an insult to Italian womanhood" and also the suggestion, made by 167 American Legion posts, that the picture "ridicules the American principles for which we fought in both world wars," we can, I think, state the cardinal issue without prejudice: the picture is taken to be a gross parody of the story of the birth of Christ. If that story were at the core of the Catholic religion alone, no one outside the faith could testify that it is inoffensive; since the story is central in the Protestant religions as well, since Protestants may be taken to be as zealous as Catholics in its defense, their testimony is relevant, and so far it has been favorable to the showing of the film.

The Catholic position seems to be that something more than the usual protest is required because the offense is ranker than usual, and they have in a way tried to move their action into a wider sphere of influence by asking non-Catholics to join them. The enthusiasts for liberty must wonder whether they would have the picture shown if it were actually a travesty of a basic and sacred event; since this would be sacrilege, within the definition, the law of the state would prevent exhibition of the film. But the law may be changed, and does anyone want it to permit the showing of sacrilege, in the name of freedom? We have no guiding rule here, nothing even as broad as the principle of "clear and present danger"; we speak of "the general sense of the community." What we really want is for people to be willing to be outraged in order that liberty shall not be destroyed in the land; unfortu-

nately most people want this a little more for others than for themselves.

Failing this ideal, we have to establish a code of fair play, which will include a decent respect for the opinion of that portion of mankind that wants the screen to be free and which will describe the limits of pressure. The danger now is that we do not see how the forms of pressure are changing.

THE old-line pressure groups had their signal success when the Eighteenth Amendment was accepted, but the Prohibition movement is the prototype of our contemporary pressures only in one respect—organization. We may feel that a minority had its way and that bribes, blackmail, and general chicanery are not the most exalted elements in the democratic political process; but there was a vote; the minority set out to persuade the majority, to convert the orthodox to heresy. By the principle now in action the minority creates its dogma and does not try to convert, but to suppress. Until now its triumphs have been outside the law.

The greatest of these was the imposition of the Production Code on the major studios. No matter how sweetly the managers of the movie business prattle about their enthusiasm for the code—which does, in fact, save them grief with local boards of censors—the fact is that the alternative to the code was an incalculable deal of hostile publicity and, in reserve, a boycott that might easily cut off one-fifth of the movie revenue. I have no doubt that the stalled ox rejoices in his 20 per cent higher ration of oats.

He does, however, break out occasionally, and I am afraid I have never given the movie industry sufficient credit for those pictures which the Legion of Decency condemns. Most of them are unimportant; the manufacturer of a two-million-dollar picture takes special care to be on the safe side. But the occasional picture that offends any group provides the material for study of the next step in pressure—the boycott as a permanent threat. In the past five years the boycott has become a new weapon, it is self-perpetuating. The owner of a theater is informed that if he shows a certain picture his house will be boycotted forever after, no matter what pictures he shows, and the studio making such a picture receives an "intimation" that *all* pictures made by that studio will also be boycotted. Minor harassments, some of them taken from the armory of goons, occur; the Paris Theater, where "The Miracle" is shown, was picketed by more objectors with more offensive placards than are usually tolerated; a totally false report that a bomb had been planted in the theater disrupted one performance; and two years after it was built, the house itself was inspected and found in doubtful condition, by inspectors conveniently sent to look for fire violations.

The most spectacular demonstration of the new tactics

is the one I mentioned last week—the threat to the Radio City Music Hall that it might be boycotted, with no time limit set, if it permitted the New York Film Critics to give one of their awards to the trilogy of which “The Miracle” is one part. The sharp resistance of the critics, compared with the lethargy of the Music Hall, is a symptom of strength in the press, but we are forced to wonder how far this intimidation is from an attack on the critics themselves and how close it is to nullifying the Bill of Rights.

I AM using the case of “The Miracle” because it is fresh in the public mind and because its “field” is so much broader than any other I know; but it would be stupid and unfair to imply that the principles involved and the tactics employed are peculiar to the Catholic groups leading the movement for suppression. In the attack on “Oliver Twist” the primary boycott was against other pictures made by J. Arthur Rank—since the object was to prevent any showing of “Oliver Twist”—and the secondary one was against all products of the British Empire! The preventive boycott is in itself a new phenomenon, although it is no new thing for producers to be warned not to make certain pictures. It should be noticed also that the restrained statements of the usual strike pickets are abandoned in these socio-moralistic cases and that scurrilous lies often take their place. It remains part of our tradition—one of the few fragments respected by the enemies of free expression—that no matter how false and foolish his words may be, a man may say them so long as he stays within the law. The debasing effect on our intellectual currency and the inevitable debasement of our minds that must follow are shocking; but that is part of the risk we have to take.

But the risk is justifiable only if the opportunity to answer is unchecked. When Martin J. Quigley, the most influential publisher of movie trade journals, instigator and co-author of the Production Code, learned that his intimation of “disfavor” had closed the doors of the Music Hall to the film critics, he said frankly that he acted because he did not want “The Miracle” to be “popularized and publicized”; the effort backfired, and *Variety* noted that “The Miracle” was “going steady with Page One.” It was, none the less, an attempted gag, and the critics, in their official statement, emphasized their “abhorrence of . . . attempts to . . . control artistic judgment . . . by deliberate pressure and threats.” In the present state of public indifference to basic rights, the spirit of our laws may be so corrupted by private action that it will not even be necessary to remove the Bill of Rights from the Constitution to destroy its guaranties.

Action to change the law is, as I have noted, exactly what Cardinal Spellman calls for if the present laws are found insufficient. The insufficiency lies in this: the board empowered to license pictures has heretofore been

immune to public pressure outside of the usual channels; if the board was unresponsive to public feeling, the public could vote out of office the officials who appointed the board. The change asked for would not only give the public a more immediate way of making its feelings known; it would open the board to endless minority pressures and establish a precedent affecting other administrative units—there is no reason why the FCC should not be made as vulnerable as a single state board—and the entire control of radio and television would be taken from the public. I can foresee an enterprising aspirant to a television channel hiring some publicity goons to organize protests against the holder of a franchise, and in due time the planning of pressure campaigns will become as well established as the business of raising funds now is for endowments and charities.

THE particular danger for the movies is that for thirty-five years the Supreme Court has refused to revise its decision that the movies are “spectacles” not to be considered “as part of the press or as organs of public opinion” and are consequently not entitled to protection under the First Amendment. A few years ago the court indicated a change of heart, in an *obiter dictum* delivered in an anti-trust case; this year, when the issue was directly brought up, the court sidestepped, refusing to review a case in which a lower court held to the 1916 decision. The truth is that the movies are not an organ for the direct *expression* of public opinion, but they have been for two generations a powerful force in the creation of that climate of feeling in which opinion germinates. They *influence* if they do not express the attitudes of the public, and to refuse them guaranties of freedom given to the printed and spoken word—and since radio is protected, to television also—is both insulting and dangerous.

Several months ago I tried to interest some motion-picture executives in a proposal to remove the belittling phrases from the law of the land, believing that a simple joint resolution in Congress could accomplish what the court refused to do. Nothing came of it then; perhaps now that they are in danger they will be willing to accept the responsibilities which protection under the First Amendment implies. If they do not, perhaps the Americans who still care for liberty will do it for them. If it is not done, and if the case of “The Miracle” or something like it goes to the Supreme Court, only the greatest stroke of fortune can save us. As it stands today, the federal law is of no help, and the law of each individual state will be constantly attacked and weakened because the groups that wish to destroy freedom are highly organized, fanatical, and ruthless, while those organizations which want to protect it are, by something fine and delicate in their own nature, unwilling or unable to use the weapons of their enemies.

BOOKS and the ARTS

MacArthur and Japan

THE RIDDLE OF MACARTHUR: JAPAN, KOREA, AND THE FAR EAST. By John Gunther. Harper and Brothers. \$2.75.

JOHN GUNTHER'S heart is in the right place, but he hasn't got his story straight—and often hasn't got it at all. His point of view is creditable, but his errors so gross that his book will embarrass those who agree with him.

Gunther was in Japan last summer—for how long he does not say. His book was announced as "Caesar of the Pacific," and then, when in November MacArthur blundered in the mountains of North Korea, the title was hastily changed. It is easy to see that whole sections of the book were rewritten in a mad hurry as the book went to press in mid-December. But the worst errors do not flow from the quixotic attempt to keep up with the headlines; they occur in Gunther's estimate of MacArthur's stewardship in Japan, which occupies exactly one-third of the book.

The first and by far the best third is a very shrewd appraisal of MacArthur, the man and the legend. Gunther recalls many half-forgotten mistakes, although his estimate of MacArthur's military genius remains high. He also considers him a good soldier who obeys orders—usually; a faithful and efficient administrator; a brilliant and wide-ranging mind; and a sincere, dedicated, reform-inclined conservative. But he also knows him to be aloof, arrogant, egotistical, imperious, theatrical, sometimes messianic, and disliked by all except his inner circle. He sums him up with the paradox that the man imposes democracy like a dictator.

This general estimate is sound. But I believe Gunther is wrong in saying that "when the great [and liberal] directive of August 29, 1945, was drawn up in Washington, MacArthur was intimately consulted." If there was intimacy, it was on one side only. MacArthur refused to take occupation problems seriously until the Japanese surrendered. And what sort of reporter can write on page 26 that "apparently

he never forgets *anything*" (italics Gunther's) and on page 27 that "sometimes he is so bewitched by his own eloquence that he forgets what he has just said"?

There are three basic tests of good reporting on Japan: Have official handouts and statements been checked? Has the reporter, in a nation of peasants, got out of the cities? And has he, preferably by learning a little Japanese, won the confidence of any but "official Japanese," the ones who say what SCAP wants them to say? Gunther passes none of these tests as far as his identification of sources shows. Unlike most good reporters, he seldom bothers with attributions. In their absence one is free to speculate that he put himself in the hands of, and trusted implicitly, the brilliantly staffed and oil-smooth Visitors' Bureau which SCAP has set up to take care of VIP's, and which has developed an incredibly perfect technique of combining junkets through one of the most beautiful countries on earth with the indoctrination, all unbeknown to them, of the junketeers, including Congressmen. Those who have had the thirty-day or the sixty-day or the deluxe ninety-day treatment never are the same again.

Here is the kind of reporting that results:

Gunther: "Houses in Japan are not numbered." Fact: they are, but in order of construction instead of position.

Gunther: "The Japanese are a profoundly impenetrable people." Best opinion: they are very excitable and conceal their emotions poorly.

Gunther: "... seven million union members now." Fact: because of feudalism in the unions, this is not the achievement Gunther tries to suggest.

Gunther: "The land reform was well planned and well administered." Fact: many Japanese do not think the planning was good, and the present Minister of Agriculture has sabotaged the transfer of land titles.

Gunther: "A strong movement for *Romaji* [the Roman alphabet] exists." Fact: this is SCAPtrap. As of a year ago no general publication in *Romaji* could be bought.

Gunther: "The *zaibatsu* . . . may rise again." Best opinion: this is right, but Gunther misses the real point that intangible feudal loyalties within business circles may nullify the legal dissolution of cartels.

Gunther: "One first-class scandal . . . caused the downfall of the Ashida (socialist) Cabinet." Fact: Ashida himself was the head of the conservative Democratic Party, and his coalition National Democratic government contained only a minority of eight Socialist members.

Gunther: "The Korean war proved that as of today the overwhelming majority of Japanese are loyal to the occupation." Best opinion: the majority of Japanese are earnestly anti-Communist, but also neutralist and as earnestly opposed to what seems to them American truculence. Many say that the fight for freedom is just as hollow an ideological pretense as the fight for the Emperor. The prevalence of this attitude is circumstantially confirmed by the unwillingness of the Japanese to rearm, and Gunther does incalculable harm by suggesting otherwise.

Gunther: "I asked many Japanese . . . what ended the war. One and all they replied . . . 'The atom bomb on Hiroshima.'" Opinion: Gunther must have fished for this reply. Fact: many Japanese have expressed other views, both privately and publicly. See, for instance, "The Lost War" by Masuo Kato, a top reporter.

Gunther: "As long ago as 1946 [SCAP] abandoned formal directives [to the Japanese]." Fact: this is true, but a good reporter should not have missed the choice story behind this. SCAP abandoned directives because they had to be debated, if not approved, by the Allied Council for Japan, on which sat not only an annoying Russian but also the gifted British Empire representative, W. McMahon Dall, the prickly liberal conscience of the occupation. His resignation was forced, and even the memory of his name erased. Gunther does not mention him once, so well do MacArthur's flunkies "guide" visitors.

Gunther: "The very word 'com-

munity' did not exist in Japanese until recently. . . . The concept . . . was foreign." Fact: the Japanese, collectivist by instinct, have a more highly developed sense of community than we, and many words to express it.

Gunther: "... The Yoshida liberals." Fact: the Yoshida Liberals, a different matter, are conservatives.

Gunther, page 26: "How much of the SCAP reformation *will* endure no man can know"; page 229: "It is unlikely that any Japanese government will ever dare to take away from at least three groups the reforms that have been given them—women, labor, and the peasants." Best opinion: Gunther's own first and more humble one.

The third section of "The Riddle of MacArthur" deals with the Korean war, with MacArthur's relations with Truman, and with general problems and policies in Asia. Once again I can subscribe to most of Gunther's generalizations, but hardly because I have learned to trust him. Oddly enough, at the very end of the book Gunther has added a question-and-answer "Catechism" on the achievements of the occupation, and here again I can agree with the generalized answers, with the minor reservation that present successes are slightly exaggerated, and with the major reservation that Gunther never asks the ultimate question: Can democracy ever be imposed?

In spite of Gunther's liberal outlook, the reader who wants a sober, accurate, measured, hard-headed appraisal of material accomplishments had better turn to conservative Robert A. Fearey's "Occupation of Japan." And for those who want a fine insight into the highly unresolved subjective and cultural problems facing us in Japan and the rest of Asia, there is Santha Rama Rau's splendid book, "East of Home."

HAROLD STRAUSS

The Men of Bad Will

TROUBLED SLEEP. By Jean-Paul Sartre. Translated from the French by Gerard Hopkins. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.50.

IN LITERARY conversation the two extreme opinions on the present state of the novel are apt to run as follows: (1) The novel is dead. Journalism has killed it in its realistic form, while

the non-realistic novel was doomed from the beginning by constitutional anemia and progressive abstraction. (2) The novel has never been more vital. Poetry has been reduced to a private language and plays to commodities, but the novel has matured into a uniquely comprehensive genre—epic and lyric, meditative and dramatic—an ideal *summa*, which can encompass the universe *and* revolve infinitely around a cookie in a cup of tea.

Both opinions are frivolously far from the presumable truth of the matter. Yet the reader of Jean-Paul Sartre's latest novel, "Troubled Sleep," is almost forced to admit either that the contemporary novel is actually in its agony or that Sartre, no matter how talented as a thinker and playwright, was not born to be a novelist. But what is really the case?

I am convinced that Sartre's failure to be a major novelist has but little to do with his native talents and very much with his deliberate intention—in other words, that it rests on the *bad will* he displays toward his battered medium. A novelist, after all, is a writer who succumbs to the pleasure of telling—Goethe called it *die Lust zu fabulieren*; in this regard, but in this alone, Joyce and Kafka are no less "picaresque" than Quevedo or Defoe. A novelist wants events to unfold and human beings to live. But in what events and what characters lies the main difference—I was tempted to write the only one—between, let us say, "Don Quixote" and "Remembrance of Things Past."

Sartre is different. He resists. He is against telling, whatever the tale may be; he merely consents to be a novelist in fits or, as the French say, *à son corps défendant*. Metaphysical soliloquies, invertebrate talk, structural distortions—anything will do, since the writer's unavowed aim is to obstruct narration. The apostle of *la littérature engagée*, one who urges the artist to commit himself to ideas, action, and what-not, is a stubborn enemy of the writer's natural commitment—to art.

In the original French "Troubled Sleep" is entitled "La Mort dans l'Âme"—something like Despair in the Heart—a French idiom of which the title of the British edition, "Iron in the Soul," is a good Biblical equivalent. This is the third novel in the series en-

titled "Roads to Freedom," of which "The Age of Reason" and "The Reprieve" are the earlier sections. The main characters reappear in these pages under the stunning shadow of the fall of France: Mathieu, the French intellectual in search of an ethical ground; Gomez, the Spanish refugee-painter, who suffers *in absentia*, since he is in New York; Boris, the young man torn between fidelity to an aging mistress and a dangerous involvement in the cause of Free France; Daniel, the homosexual, the would-be Stavrogin, for whom the disintegration of society is a private victory; Brunet, the "over-committed" Communist organizer; and women, and children, and bands of French soldiers idling from defeat into captivity.

Each of these persons has his own *mort dans l'âme*: "he doesn't know what he wants, he's not even sure what he's done. . . . He's bogged down, he's fallen slap out of the world of men, out of history. . . . Even his tools for thinking straight are outdated. . . . He is suffering from the iron that has entered his soul."

The theme of the inner collapse of a defeated country is a natural one for the author of "La Nausée." In the France of the spring of 1940, "nausea," no longer the metaphysical adventure of an individual, had suddenly become collective, pertinent to everyone, and inevitable. But the motif, though awesomely justified, is felt and treated as a philosophical theorem. An ever-present taskmaster prevents each character from escaping his assigned role. We are led to hope that in the next and concluding novel of the series, the still unwritten "La Dernière Chance," some of these men will have earned their freedom, and that Sartre will then feel free to be a novelist. In the meantime, however—that is, in "Troubled Sleep"—everybody is still a transient, a prologue to himself, each a person in search of his own existential "decision."

Finally, I am happy to report Sartre's occasional dereliction of his duty as a thinker: it results in a few episodes of this novel which are nothing less than masterly. They chiefly deal with a group of "civilians in uniform" of the crushed army, who are rotting away after the Nazi onslaught. In these pages crudity and pity converge into art. We are far removed from Fabrice Del Dongo's

youthful attempt to cope with history on the battlefield of Waterloo. Here, on the highways and in the hamlets of *la douce France*, not only history is in shambles; human identity itself is decadent. But whatever the difference may be, one feels that Sartre's achievement merits the comparison.

PAOLO MILANO

A World of Unrealities

THE SOVIET IMAGE OF THE UNITED STATES: A STUDY IN DISTORTION. By Frederick C. Barghoorn. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$4.

THIS carefully documented book by the American press attaché in Moscow from 1942 to 1947, who now teaches political science and international relations at Yale University, is notable on two counts. It is the first full-scale study of how the Soviet government pictures the United States to the Russian people and thus constitutes a valuable guide to what the Russian leaders and the Russian people think of this country: and it provides a candid, though unconscious, revelation of the problems we face in our efforts to appraise peoples of traditions different from our own.

No one but an American could have written this book. For no nation except the United States is so constantly preoccupied, to a degree bordering on obsession, with discovering what other peoples think of us. "Do the Russians (or the French, British, Indians, Chinese) love us? Why don't they love us?"—queries one often hears from Americans abroad—would never occur to nationals of other states. One of the keys to Britain's long success in maintaining tolerable relations all over the globe, even with former colonial subjects like the Americans and the Indians, is that the British never think of asking themselves whether or not the non-British love them. Americans, in contrast, look upon international relations as a sort of love affair, successful or unsuccessful. A psychiatrist might find food for thought in the passionate urge of Americans since World War II to be "loved," admired, and emulated by other nations, and their feeling that failure to inspire such emotions in other lands represents some kind of defeat.

Significant, too, is the tendency to assume that to win love or admiration the United States must concentrate on explaining itself, not on understanding the nation whose love or admiration it seeks. After a minute examination of the distortions of American realities fostered by the Kremlin, Mr. Barghoorn concludes that "one of the necessities of our policy toward Soviet Russia is to do everything possible to convince the peoples of the Soviet Union that the view of American institutions, life, and policy presented to them by their rulers does not correspond to reality." It does not seem to occur to him, and it seldom occurs to those who plan American propaganda directed to other countries, that more might be accomplished if the United States displayed some appreciation of the achievements—material or cultural—of the Russian nation (or of the French, British, Indian, or Chinese nation) than by ceaseless insistence on the achievements, virtues, wealth, high living standards, and unmatched strength of the United States.

Mr. Barghoorn has performed a valuable service in marshaling information culled from a wide variety of sources—newspapers, radio broadcasts, public lectures, books, personal conversations, reports from other observers—to demonstrate that the Soviet government gives the Russian people an image of the United States designed to besmirch this country's motives and belittle its accomplishments. This distorted image, the subject of what we have come to call the "Big Lie," is familiar to the American public in its general outlines, but Mr. Barghoorn's analysis is nevertheless useful in helping to fill in these outlines.

The value of his book would have been greatly enhanced had he attempted throughout to relate Moscow's propaganda for home consumption to the policy it has followed abroad, as he does in a very rewarding way in his chapter on The Kremlin and the Atom. For in this chapter Mr. Barghoorn leaves the impression that ideas and proposals which to us seem sheer propaganda devices may be genuinely believed by the Soviet leaders, and that instead of being brushed aside in Washington they should be seriously weighed as factors in the formulation of Moscow's decisions on world affairs. He

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also indicates in this chapter that, unreasonable as the Russians often are or appear to be in international councils, they may have some reason—even when judged by our standards—for the fears, doubts, or suspicions they express about the West in general and the United States in particular. At another point Mr. Barghoorn states that while the Kremlin's anti-American campaign "has been in many ways crude and at times ludicrous, it has also been shrewdly calculated to appeal to the deeply rooted and partially justified feeling which has existed among the Russian people ever since they came in contact with Western peoples—that the latter were contemptuous and scornful of the Russians and did not appreciate their merits and capacities." Nor does he fall into the error, so common to most Americans who write about Russia, of believing that the views of the West propagated by the Soviet leaders represent a completely new development in Russia's history. "This campaign against Western culture," he says, "is similar to but far more extreme than the measures taken often in the past by Russian rulers against foreign influence."

Disquieting as is Mr. Barghoorn's conclusion that official Soviet propaganda is deliberately seeking to make the Russian people, against their will, learn to hate the United States, it is also disquieting to find that he himself apparently believes that most of the criticisms of American ideas and practices he noted in the U. S. S. R. are exclusively due to the machinations of the Kremlin. In actuality, unpleasant as it is to face it, many of these criticisms are also made by anti-Communists in countries which are not shut off from the United States by an iron curtain, whose governments have no reason to doubt the good-will of this country, and where the public has freedom of access to information about American life and has had many contacts with Americans.

A glance at the daily press of other nations will suffice to show this. To give but one example, the highly respected Manchester *Guardian*, in its issue of December 28, carried letters critical of the United States which listed among their targets American brashness and "superlativity," American morality as interpreted by Hollywood, the contrast between American avowals of individual

liberty and racial discrimination, a preoccupation with anything new or novel, mass hysteria, an unrealistic and misguided approach to world problems and an inept handling of delicate situations, an incurable and colossal exaggeration and failure to acknowledge foreign sources of information, as in the case of penicillin and nuclear fission. Is it realistic, then, to assume, as Mr. Barghoorn and others who have written about Soviet "distortions" assume, that the Kremlin alone has a jaundiced view of the United States? Or shall we wake up some day to experience the great shock, already felt here with respect to China, of discovering that others may view us in an unfavorable, if to us unfair, light?

To this Mr. Barghoorn could rightly answer, as he does in one chapter, that unfair or actually falsified views of the United States are propagated in Russia by an all-powerful totalitarian government, not as in democratic countries by private individuals or publications. This is true. But private expressions of opinion can be as powerful in shaping policy as government pronouncements, and in fact more powerful, since the public—even in Russia, according to Mr. Barghoorn—is apt to be allergic to persistent official propaganda. And surely it would be a distortion of our own to pretend that the American people are at present receiving a fair and complete picture of Russia—or of Communist China. Graham Peck, who served with the United States Office of War Information in China during the war, presents a less scholarly but far more vivid and even-handed picture of the problems involved in propaganda warfare in his recently published "Two Kinds of Time." Writing about the American "image" of China created by some Republicans, he says: "Their pre-election maneuvers in the spring of 1950 suggest that consciously or unconsciously some of them are beginning to experiment with an American version of the 'Big Lie,' in order to continue with military intervention in Asia. Since China is the scene of the biggest failure of that policy, they present a picture of recent events in China which is so completely opposite to the facts that it tends to paralyze the American public's sense of judgment."

Mr. Barghoorn gives a frightening ac-

count of the extent to which the Kremlin distorts the image of the United States. But frightening accounts can also be written at the present time of the way many American commentators and politicians distort the images of Russia and China. If, as Mr. Barghoorn contends, the Soviet leaders, by believing their own distortions, are deliberately misleading themselves into a war—a contention which their shrewdly calculated moves on the world scene appear to belie—is there not a danger that we may be similarly misleading ourselves? And if this is so, may it not prove that propaganda warfare, by fostering a world of unrealities on both sides, creates more dangers than it averts?

VERA MICHELES DEAN

Verse Chronicle

THE publication of James Merrill's "First Poems" (Knopf, \$3) is a solid satisfaction, yet not an exciting one. Mr. Merrill is a young poet who writes very proficiently indeed; he has a wealth of vocabulary and allusion, yet does not verbalize, does not gush, is not sentimental; he is, as the jacket says, a craftsman both adventurous and meticulous, though the paradox, I suspect, was inadvertent, and the writer really meant to say scrupulous. Mr. Merrill goes to no extremes, whether of fear or boldness; in both form and subject there is variety, and there is control. "But where's the bloody horse?" There seems to be something lacking in this cold, or anyway cool, verse for all its excellence, a dearth of ardor in the temperament it may be, so that one is tempted to quote against the poet his own lines from *The Flint Eye*—"luminous in these schools/ Language is glittering of flint rituals/ and a race of sober children learns long smiles."

Turn, for contrast in this matter of ardor, to another young poet, some two thousand years Mr. Merrill's senior. Caius Valerius Catullus, whose 120 poems and fragments are here, in 154 versions by various hands, "assembled, arranged, and edited by William A. Aiken" (Dutton, \$3), is, of course, untranslatable, though not so much so as this aggregation would make it appear. Those who aspire to translate Catullus need to beat into their heads two facts

above all: first, that within the strict meters by which he was bound he was a master at using *sounds* for effects—the double chop of the ax in the *lux, nox*, followed by the barely perceptible rise and fall of the breath in the everlasting sleep, the slide of the elision, the long words, the vowel emphasis, in the subsequent *perpetua una dormienda* in the *Vivamus, mea Lesbia* poem; the mutes choking utterance in the fourth verse of the lament for his brother, counterpointing the long *a* and *u* vowels, and the dominance of the *m* consonants; the tortured strangling in the first verse of the two-verse poem that begins *Odi et amo*. Second, that except in the experimental neoteric poems—and there, too, in the best effects—Catullus wrote, above all things, directly: he called a spayed a spayed, especially when he was talking about bitches, which was often. *Fellat* does not mean “cajoles,” and *paedicabo vos et irrumabo* does not mean “I’ll turn and roast you on a spit.”

There is neither accuracy, justice, nor sense in draping the nakedness of Catullus in pretty pink panties. Of Professor Aiken’s considerable troop of translators, one who offends least in this regard appears to be a clergyman, the Reverend John Nott, 1751-1825. The editor himself conveys a good deal of information about Catullus and his circle, much of it sensible, some of it silly, in a prose that is lavish, even now and then gushing, in enthusiasm, and also, less happily, teeming with clichés. The reviewer’s copy contains many errata, notably in the translation of the Acme-Septimius poem and in the index; for this the publishers have sent out, to their credit, a profuse letter of apology and correction, with the implied promise that the general public shall have a book less likely to be a freak collector’s item.

From the firm of Alan Swallow in Denver come so many books all at once that they will get scant justice in this space. Admirers—there should be many—of the fine work of Janet Lewis will be interested to know that “Poems, 1924-1944” contains, with some slight rearrangement, all the items that were presented in the Wells College Press limited edition of “The Earth-Bound” (1946) and half a dozen more. The price is \$2.50. I do not know why “Distichs for a Dancer” by Carol Ely

Harper is so called, unless the author wants to give better than good measure for the money (50 cents); the stanzas are as apt to run to three lines as the conventional strophic group of two. This is nice clean work, and a good value.

When some time back I praised a little book by J. V. Cunningham, issued by the Cummington Press, and expressed the wish that there had been more of this author, I was gently reminded by Mr. Swallow that his firm had published such work, and that it was still available. I probably won’t get this straight, even now, but it seems that the Swallow firm has ninety-two copies of “The Helmsman,” poems by Mr. Cunningham, in the Colt Press edition; these are offered, bound and autographed, with a copy of “The Quest of the Opal,” a prose commentary by the author on his work, for \$7.50. The pamphlet edition of “The Quest of the Opal,” with mimeographed copies of the poems from “The Helmsman” to which the author refers, is available separately for \$1. Mr. Cunningham is an odd kind of poet, for he seems to feel that his work should properly have cost him, in its preparation, a great deal of experience, not excluding thinking. His *Gnothe seauton* involves him in difficult intellectual effort, and takes him considerably deeper than the narcissistic levels of glib self-admiration, or self-pity; his product, to which the term “precise” applies as accurately as to Mr. Merrill’s and the term “meticulous” a good deal more so, has the intensity and, finally, the illumination which cannot be achieved without, somewhere along the line, resistance.

Finally we have, also from the firm of Swallow, a bargain package called “Key Poets,” boxed in light cardboard, paper pamphlets, ten of them, nicely printed (in Great Britain), priced at \$2.50 the set or 30 cents separately. The authors are (1) Edith Sitwell; (2) George Barker; (3) Randall Swingler; (4) Jonathan Denwood; (5) Stanley Snaith; (6) Dorian Cooke; (7) Jack Lindsay; (8) Maurice Carpenter; (9) Jack Beeching; (10) Norman Cameron. A dull lot, I am sorry to say, I find them all except Cameron and, for curious reasons, Lindsay; Sitwell seems worse than dull, offensively *grande dame*, and Barker just vulgarly obnoxious. But for

the price there is good value, and sufficient evidence, for anyone who cares to go in for a serious study of trends; there might also be some therapy for those who suffer from a congenital sense of colonialism. ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

TO READ a literal prose translation of Ibsen’s “Peer Gynt” is to perceive and admire the poetic conception which is its framework—and to feel that one could experience and judge its full impact only if one could read, or hear, the poetry in which it was written.

Paul Green’s adaptation of “Peer Gynt” which is now playing at the ANTA Theater is not only cast in prose

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but in prose which seems designed to turn a poetic drama into a topical, realistic play. The result is a mélange of the fantasy and the problem play which is convincing as neither, since it lacks the poetry of the one and the actuality of the other.

It is a little, indeed, as if Mr. Green had tried to bring "Peer Gynt" into line with Ibsen's later social dramas. "Peer Gynt," to be sure, was supposed to be a commentary on the Norwegian character, but this "social content," if it can be called that, was only the point of departure. What emerged, as I read it, was the legend of a man with a passion for power and an incapacity for love or responsibility whose fate is to be consigned, not to hell—his sins are not worthy of hell—but merely to the "Buttonmolder" to be ignominiously recast.

The present production could be called lavish, and ANTA has assembled a large cast, including John Garfield (Peer), Karl Malden (the Buttonmolder), Mildred Dunnock (Peer's mother), and Sono Osato (Anitra). The turntable setting is suitable, though a bit lumbering, and the direction is in the spirit of the—adaptation. As a curious result, such scenes of fantasy as Peer's visit to the Troll Kingdom and the desert scene in which he is enticed and then despoiled by the dancing girl Anitra are so realistically rendered as to be merely vulgar; while the actual wedding scene has a far more legendary air. Peer's encounter with the Great Boy—which is admitted—

ly difficult to manage, is not successful. The madhouse in Cairo, on the other hand, seemed to me particularly good, with Joseph Anthony doing an excellent bit of acting—and pronunciation—as Dr. Begriffenfeldt, its director. I have seen Mildred Dunnock only in two parts, as Peer's mother and as the elderly woman in "Pride's Crossing." Her acting here and her intonation are exactly the same as they were in the other part—which hardly makes for illusion.

John Garfield as Peer is personable, speaks well, is resilient and light on his feet. He also, in the earlier sequences, gives the impression of a gifted amateur rather than a seasoned actor. And his performance is a succession of portrayals; there is no piling up, either of tension or of the invisible burden that Peer carries. I can't but feel that this has something to do with the difference between the requirements of the films and of the stage. A film is made in bits; a play can't be. And from what I have seen of film actors on the stage, they find it difficult to manage the continuity which is essential to a stage performance. This is a serious defect here, since it is Peer's "progress" which holds the piece together. It accounts in part for the fact that the play varies greatly in intensity from scene to scene and at times seems almost to stand still—though the principal reason is that "Peer Gynt," when its poetic mood and expression are played down as they are here, loses both height and velocity.

Frank Lloyd Wright in Philadelphia

GIMBEL'S has brought together in its Philadelphia store a remarkably effective exhibition of the life work of America's greatest architect. The show (on view through February 24) was designed by Oskar Stonorov and is itself a superb experience; it was a beautiful idea to have it climaxed, at its farther end, with a full-size portion of a Wright house—living-room, bedroom, and kitchen—so that the visitor can get the actual feeling of what such a house is like. Some time ago Gimbel's put on the magnificent Better Philadelphia exhibition; this Wright show is a logical and worthy carrying out of the same idea. Wright's work is perhaps well known to the few; it is the idea of Gimbel's, as they say, "to bring Wright to the people." Let us hope that these two examples will be followed by similar establishments the country over.

To the visitor the show offers the most complete—as well as the best-presented—record of the work of an American architect that has ever been prepared. And since the architect so signally honored is one of the world's greatest living creators, the show is deeply significant and worthy of the most careful study. Here, almost for the first time, we can see what are perhaps the basic drives that have made Wright what he is.

A great consistency permeates the exhibition. It is at once evident that it is the expression of a single personality large enough to absorb all the currents of half a century, strong enough to direct them and not be swept away by them, imaginative enough to embody them in forms that express not only their power and importance but also, and this is even more valuable, the qualities of the human spirit—its dreams, its emotional needs. Like a great well-rooted tree, Wright has been nourished by the storms of life and not destroyed; he has turned wind and rain—even gales and floods—into new beauty for our enlargement and delight. To be an artist, the work shows, one must be first of all a man.

Thus Wright at all times and in all his work is "of his times," modern of the moderns, yet never dominated by the times, never their slave. This is the es-

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sence of what he calls democracy; it is the quality of being individual—even what the world calls "eccentric," if need be—come what may.

Thus Wright is always seeking the enlargement and the enrichment of human life by means of an environment achieved by the daring use of many techniques, new and old.

Thus Wright is always working to increase the form-consciousness and the form-sensitiveness of the world—never seeking to restrict it.

And thus his entire life—he is now eighty-two—has been devoted to making economic forces and technological inventions and discoveries, by himself as well as by others, serve the human imagination rather than letting them, as they so frequently do, dictate to it.

It must be this consistent single-minded aim that accounts for the fact that the aesthetic content of his design, instead of becoming poorer and more conventional as he grows older, has gone on growing ever richer yet ever more consistent in its variety.

Another quality leaps from his work—the fact that in it are merged the truest and most forceful elements of the American architectural tradition. For ever since the Revolution, American architecture at its best has been dominated by two major trends often considered hostile to each other. One is the search for abstract beauty and perfection in form and harmonious detail—the quality often called "classic"—reflected in the best work of the classic revival and in all the eclectic work that is still significant. The other is the restless search for what is new, emotionally expressive, dynamic—the quality usually termed "romantic." Wright, through various accidents of his career, hates the term "classic"; yet the fact is that he, above all others, has achieved in his own work a magnificent unification of these two trends. What a controlling sense of *shape* is seen in his rectangles, his circles; what extraordinary harmony of shape controls each creation! And who else in the field of architecture has that sense of axes, of balanced views, of fastidious interior orchestration, or has a similar skill in evolving harmonious detail? Then, on the other side, almost every major job has breached the walls of architectural convention, has dared the unknown both

structurally and aesthetically, has sought, in a word, all the "romantic" aims. Combining these classic and romantic drives into a new integration, Wright is dominantly and completely American, and his work falls today into the position of climax and of key block for the architectural tradition of this country up to the present time.

In an exhibition as large and as complete as this any particularization of individual works must be to a large extent an expression of the critic's own personal taste. Other visitors will undoubtedly make other choices; that is itself an evidence of the wide scope of Wright's achievement. As for me, I find myself continually interested in the simpler, even the more obvious, expressions of shape or structure. I think of the suave curves of the design for the San Francisco Bay Crossing, so eloquent of its material (concrete), so effortless in its strong grace. I think of the daring project for a resort building for Hollywood, with its bowl-like forms (terraces and restaurants) cantilevered from a raking pyramidal core. I remember the exquisite directness of the Schabert house (shown in model) and the plans so quiet yet full of rich variety in a series of houses projected for Kalamazoo. I think of the semi-circle of the second Jacobs house or the stone cylinders of the Friedman house, and I cannot forget the Walter house, so beautifully poised over the river. And the smaller houses, too—the Pew house in Madison, so rich in effect and yet so economical in plan; the Willey house on its gentle slope; the Winkler-Goetsch house, where true grandeur without "swank" or exhibitionism is incorporated in a small space; and the earlier "La Miniatura," the Millard house in Pasadena, with its rich textile-block walls so exquisitely placed in a tiny glen. And of course I think of Taliesin and its quiet roofs and yellow stone walls, of Taliesin West in Phoenix, where the desert set the theme and a great composition was written upon it.

At the banquet that opened the show much was made of the fact that here was human genius at work in construction, not destruction; on human life, not on death. It is, I hope, prophetic and significant that this show is to go later to Italy, where it will be installed in the Strozzi Palace in

Florence, and from there to various other European cities. It is good to know that in these days when hate is considered a virtue and destruction an admirable way of life, in these days of McCarran acts and McCarthyism and hysteria in the newspapers, America is at last to be represented abroad by such an eloquent voice to tell Europe that American exports are not limited to cannon. For the Wright show is the record of a life devoted to art and love, not to killing and hate.

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Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

VERDI'S "Don Carlo" itself has passages which are among the greatest achievements of his powers—Philip's soliloquy *Ella giammai m'amò*, his scene with the Grand Inquisitor, Elizabeth's *Tu che le vanità*, her subsequent duet with Carlo—but also banalities like the climax of the first duet of Carlo and Rodrigo. Likewise the Metropolitan's production is an outstandingly fine one, but not a perfect one. It presents the work set and costumed with splendor and dramatic effect by Rolf Gerard, the action skilfully laid out on the stage by Margaret Webster, the music well prepared by Fritz Stiedry. Moreover, in the performance I attended Delia Rigal, the Elizabeth, projected a regal distinction of presence and, free of her earlier tremolo, sang *Tu che le vanità* with breath-taking grandeur of style; Hans Hotter contributed a vocally and dramatically powerful Grand Inquisitor;

Cesare Siepi an impressive Philip. But although Jussi Bjoerling, the Carlo, and Robert Merrill, the Rodrigo, sang well, they were ineffective on the stage; Fedora Barbieri's excessive dramatic intensity hammed up her Princess Eboli and may have been responsible for the tremolo which clouded her beautiful contralto voice and for her sagging pitch in *O don fatale*; and Stiedry produced playing of the orchestral part which had none of the inner cohesive tension and continuity of impetus, the sharpness of outline and dynamic force it would have had if a De Sabata or a Cantelli had been conducting.

But this production of "Don Carlo" is important for more than its intrinsic quality. There have been outstandingly fine productions at the Metropolitan before—notably the "Figaro" of 1944, conducted with suavity and grace by Bruno Walter, with Pinza, Steber, Sayao, Novotna, and Brownlee on the stage in action laid out by Herbert Graf. But the excellence of that "Figaro" was the kind that results occasionally when a number of gifted artists happen to be associated in a production; and I don't undervalue Edward Johnson's contribution in having decided to give "Figaro" and to use the company's best artists in it when I say that this wasn't anything like the way Rudolf Bing was involved in and responsible for the production of "Don Carlo"—from the selection of the work itself to the assembling of the designer of scenery and costumes, the stage director, the singers, the conductor. The "Don Carlo" production is important, then, in that it tells us what kind of a general manager the Metropolitan has acquired and what kind of opera he wants to give. It tells us that with his knowledge, taste, intelligence, standards, and convictions—all in addition to his command of the mechanics of his profession—he is a kind of general manager the Metropolitan has never had before; and that even with the inadequacies he will occasionally have to put up with and the decisions that will occasionally turn out wrong, the kind of opera he wants to give is likely to be the kind we will want to have.

Ballet Theater, at its one New York performance in celebration of its return from Europe, presented the latest addition to its repertory, Agnes de Mille's charming "Rodeo," all freshened and

sharpened up, with Kriza's performance in particular much sharper and brisker than Franklin's in the original Monte Carlo production and less effective for that fact at a couple of points—notably the series of sidewise leaps (I don't know their technical name) which Franklin used to do in the second scene with a relaxed casualness that brought the house down. In addition there were de Mille's "Fall River Legend," Balanchine's "Theme and Variations," and the "Black Swan" pas de deux. On "Fall River Legend's" plodding hour-long demonstration of how a girl was led to kill her step-mother I have nothing to report, since duty required me to sit through it a first time but not a second, (but why two ballets of de Mille and none of Robbins or Tudor?) In the other two pieces Youskevitch exhibited the quiet precision and elegance which make his virtuoso dancing the most beautiful of its kind that there is to see nowadays. The pas de deux also provided an opportunity to see Alicia Alonso again—bulkier around the hips but dancing with all the relaxed assurance and elegance she had acquired before her departure from the company. And in the Balanchine piece there was Mary Ellen Moylan for the first time, with her extraordinary suppleness, and the even quieter assurance and sharper precision made exciting by the reserve power with which they are achieved.

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HAROLD STRAUSS is editor-in-chief of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. He has spent a year in Japan and speaks Japanese.

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Letters to the Editors

Teachers Propose Oath

Dear Sirs: We, as teachers, have accepted the responsibility of teaching the young and developing their powers to reason and evaluate. And as teachers we refuse to sign so-called loyalty oaths about whose content we have had little, if anything, to say.

We reject them because these oaths do not create loyalty or test it. A person disloyal to our country would not hesitate to perjure himself to preserve his opportunity to oppose the government with violence. The act of signing has in itself no significance. The only proof of disloyalty lies in demonstrable action against the "good and welfare" of the nation.

We reject them because they violate the basic freedoms of expression and thought. Arbitrary restrictions build pressures that may destroy the good with the bad. We would choose to keep democracy strong by the exercise of its "rightness," not weaken it by over-protection.

We reject them because they beget fear and hysteria. The school and the individual teacher must recognize prejudice and suspicion as such and replace them with objectivity and confidence. To do this one does not retreat from the thresholds of our social and economic problems—as such oath-taking is wont to make us do.

We reject them because they set us apart from other citizens in the community. It is unthinkable that merely because teachers are subject to public controls in relation to their salaries and working conditions, they should be isolated members of the community, upon whom the full weight of fear and hysteria can rest.

It is high time that we act positively—that we frankly and fearlessly propose something to which we may voluntarily offer our allegiance, define our values, and thus, perhaps, prevent the special seeds of suspicion from being sown. To that end the members of the American Federation of Teachers have proposed the following oath:

I pledge myself to the unceasing search for truth, to the increasing of the general human welfare, and to the full emanci-

pation of the individual child. I shall constantly seek to serve the basic tenets of democracy, knowing that democracy is a way of life, not a static credo, and that the democratic way of life is served best through the challenge of social and economic problems yet unmet or unconquered. The hysteria of fear and of prejudice shall not enter my classroom. In my day-to-day duties I shall strive to keep alive the optimism of youth, positively directed and tempered by the experiences of humankind as I have found them.

My classroom shall be the shrine of dignity and worth of each child, their confidence shall be inviolate, their growth and development the motive of my job. This to the end that voluntary disposition and interest may supersede external control and our individual and collective search for the good life.

JOHN M. EKLUND,
President, American Federation
of Teachers

Denver, Colo., January 15

"Monopoly" of Education

Dear Sirs: Two items in the San Francisco *Chronicle* illuminate Paul Blanchard's series of articles, The Vatican versus the Public Schools (in *The Nation* January 20 and 27).

In the *Chronicle* of September 17 Archbishop Mitty is quoted as having said at the dedication of a Catholic school, "Totalitarianism strikes first at religion and then at the rights of individuals. It moves on to a complete monopoly of every aspect of human existence. We want no state monopoly of education, of labor, or of charity." And according to the *Chronicle* of December 4, the Reverend Thomas K. Gorman, Bishop of Reno, attacked the "Marxist doctrinaires and educational bureaucrats whose queerly twisted notion of democracy would create for the state a monopoly of education."

It seems to me that the only interpretation to place on these remarks is that their authors were labeling the failure to divert public money to religious schools as "totalitarianism" and "Marxist doctrine."

JOSEPH S. THOMPSON
San Francisco, Cal., January 22

Small Farmer Objects

Dear Sirs: Theodore W. Schultz's article, Redirecting Farm Policy (in *The Nation*, January 20), is extremely disquieting. While it reflects the sentiments of many of the leaders in the National Farm Bureau and of other vociferous spokesmen for big agriculture, it ignores the thinking, hopes, and aspirations of those small farmers its condemns as inefficient.

I am probably one of the farm operators who do not measure up to the mythical efficiency standards he lays down. I do, however, consume the machinery, fuels, and other industrial products of our economy. If our program is to be indefinitely directed toward war, my efforts may not seem very valuable, but in all fairness to us as small farmers and to the industrial workers who are our partners in the program, we must admit the possibility of peace. Several months before the outbreak of the Korean war industrial unemployment posed a serious problem. Now not even the war impetus has absorbed our whole labor force. Would not several million dispossessed farmers make the situation worse?

Of course, Mr. Schultz would not advocate legal force to remove us from our farms. He would simply discontinue the farm relief programs that have made it possible for many of us to stay on the farm. But that would not make the pill less bitter.

My impression is that Mr. Schultz and those who subscribe to his social and economic doctrines hold a large segment of the population in contempt. It

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may come as a shock to them to learn that farmers are aware of current machinations to put agriculture on a corporate basis and thus eliminate the last vestige of free economic opportunity. We have watched monopolies devour competitors in other industries and recognize the symptoms. The "redirection" of farm policy advocated by Mr. Schultz may be accomplished on the pretext of a national emergency, but it will be strenuously opposed by its victims.

MERL H. SHIPMAN

St. Ignatius, Mont., January 25

To Win Allies

Dear Sirs: I feel that Canada and other members of the United Nations cannot place full confidence in American leadership because of the many diplomatic mistakes it has made during the prosecution of the Korean war. It was a grave error to refuse to admit China to the United Nations. China's suspicions have been aroused by a nation that fails to recognize the right of its people to win liberty for themselves and that seeks to restore Chiang to power.

I am well aware that America has taken the heavy blows in the Korean war thus far and that it appears that its allies have not fulfilled their original pledges. But I think enlightened people realize it was your preparedness con-

trasted with our unreadiness that has forced you to bear the initial burden. America also may remember that it was Britain and its European allies who suffered for many long, dreadful months in the first years of the last war before America offered its valiant assistance.

Ultimately, if the United States can show that its cause is just and that its leadership is worthy, I am sure that its allies will stand at its side and fight to the last ditch for the restoration of justice. Certainly we do not want to be under Russian domination, but can we not agree with Nehru that the Orient has the same right as Western countries to overthrow wrong and oppression?

ETHEL C. TIBBITS

Vancouver, B. C., January 22

Not Convinced

Dear Sirs: My reply to Clay Fulk's letter printed in your January 27 issue will be short and to the point. The fact that someone who was active in the American Socialist movement a generation ago has had an article in the *Monthly Review* does not change the character of the magazine. I am surprised at the association of an "old line Debs Socialist" with the *Monthly Review*, whose brand of "socialism" is not that of Debs but of Stalin. The editors in their original prospectus, "Where We Stand," said: "Socialism became a reality with the introduction of the first Five-Year Plan in Soviet Russia." Thank you, but I'll go along with Debs and all true Socialists in the belief that you can't have socialism without democracy.

The editors of *The Nation* deserve a vote of thanks for permitting the airing of this subject in their letters columns.

ROY HELFGOTT

Brooklyn, N. Y., February 1

Material on Latrobe

Dear Sirs: I am preparing a biography of the architect and engineer Benjamin Latrobe (1764-1820). I am aware of the extensive material on his life and work in libraries and archives, but I am extremely anxious to have access to any letters, drawings, journals, or notes by or about him which may be in other hands. All correspondence will be gratefully acknowledged, and I will take the greatest care to return any material that is sent to me. My address is Avery Hall, Columbia University, New York 27. TALBOT HAMLIN
New York, January 19

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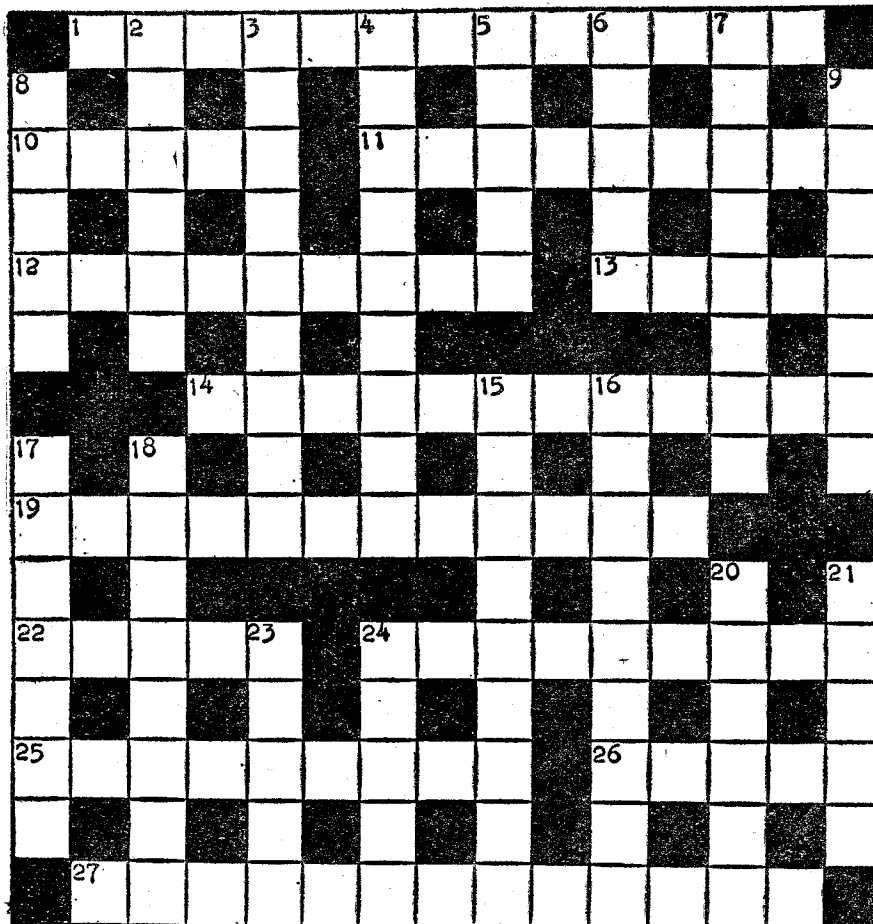
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Crossword Puzzle No. 399

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Introduced to a doctor—one concerned with the abstract. (13)
- 10 See 11
- 11 and 10. Little flower plot? (9, 5)
- 12 Do they carry volumes? (9)
- 13 Compound formed by trees. (5)
- 14 One might be sent up by the cautious undertaker. (5, 7)
- 19 Babe Didrikson? (5, 2, 5)
- 22 A mile, comparatively speaking, out of the proper course? (5)
- 24 Adages with force. (5, 4)
- 25 Pull out the taxi Peter wrecked. (9)
- 26 Yes, pleased with a friend? Quite the reverse, in either case. (5)
- 27 Where one of ten might stand for a little bit. (4, 2, 7)

DOWN

- 2 They go out on the stage. (6)
- 3 Arable and astronomical bull's-eye. (9)
- 4 Is the managerial retrenchment due to mourning? (4-5)
- 5 Found at the end of messages. (5)
- 6 See 20
- 7 Hearing aid out in a new form. (8)
- 8 Plans for attack can't be mounted if they are. (5)

- 9 A sort of strap on supporters. (7)
- 15 Temperature of our men at Guadal, with enemy fighters overhead? (5, 4)
- 16 Minotaur's confinement. (9)
- 17 Four and 9, perhaps, are not hep! (7)
- 18 A critic might, a midget would. (8)
- 20 and 6 down. Fish hunt in an old cabinet. (6, 5)
- 21 Apart from half of the players? (5)
- 23 Fish traps. (5)
- 24 Classical Republican? (5)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 398

ACROSS:—1 FIRE AT WILL; 6 GODS; 10 INDIANS; 12 MOCK-TURTLE SOUP; 14 NEST EGGS; 15 FRIEZE; 16 EVENTS; 18 ENFORCES; 22 AUTOSUGGESTION; 24 VIRUSES; 25 and 23 THE ONCE-OVER; 26 RAYS; 27 DRESS SUITS.

DOWN:—1 FAIR-MINDED; 2 REDACTS; 3 APARTMENT HOUSE; 4 WASHRAG; 5 and 11 LITTLE THEATER; 7 OBTRUDE; 8 SEER; 9 CENSORIOUSNESS; 13 MESSENGERS; 17 EQUERRY; 19 NEGATES; 20 CHIANTI; 21 PURSER.

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